

PEOPLE  
Woodward Unleashes  
At the Nixon Library  
Richard Nixon's private  
papers will probably be the  
most revealing yet of the  
former president's life.  
The director of the  
Nixon Library, Richard  
Hewitt, said many documents  
going to Woodward would be  
of great value. Woodward  
said he would be looking  
for the "real Nixon" and  
not the "public Nixon."  
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Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, top, glancing toward the British foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd; the U.S. treasury secretary, Nicholas K. Brady; President George Bush, and Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d at the opening session of the economic summit meeting on Tuesday.

## A Rising American Phobia: Japan

By Michael Oreskes  
New York Times Service  
NEW YORK — American fear of the economic might of Japan appears to have risen sharply, heightening sentiment for limits on foreign investments, as Americans worry more about Japanese economic power than about Soviet military power.  
This surge in anxiety is occurring even as Japanese attitudes toward the United States, while tinged with resentment, appear to be softening somewhat on trade issues.  
Americans do not find European investment nearly as disturbing, even though there is more of it, the survey found. Only 37 percent of Americans said they thought increasing European investment was a threat.  
The findings are the results of a matched pair of public opinion polls conducted in the United States by The New York Times and CBS News and in Japan by the Tokyo Broadcasting System.  
The surveys revealed the complex and ambivalent domestic attitudes that both President George Bush and Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu must contend with as they try to manage what many now describe as each country's most important bilateral relationship.  
Americans and Japanese point squarely at each other in the surveys when asked to identify their country's strongest competitor.  
Substantial majorities in both countries continue to express friendly attitudes toward the other. Indeed, the 73 percent of Americans who say their overall feelings toward Japan are generally friendly represents a slight rise from the 67 percent registered in January. Sixty-six percent of Japanese said their current feelings toward the United States.

## G-7, by Default, Gives Japan Go-Ahead on Loans to China

By Lawrence Malkin  
International Herald Tribune  
HOUSTON — Japan's Western trading partners gave the green light on Tuesday to Tokyo's plan to resume loans to China.  
The seven nations of the economic summit meeting did so by sidestepping the issue in an otherwise ringing declaration that welcomed progress toward democracy and free markets in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.  
Leaders of the world's seven largest industrial democracies pledged "to help in practical ways those countries that choose freedom."  
Efforts to make the statement more concrete on financial assistance for the Soviet Union, which West Germany had sought from participants, foundered on their disagreements.  
But the final communiqué on Wednesday is expected to permit each nation to go its own way with some examination by international bodies. It will also deal with U.S. demands that the summit meeting break a deadlock on world trade talks known as the Uruguay Round, probably with a proposal to measure the value of each nation's farm subsidies and then negotiate them down.  
Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan has been under pressure from Japanese business to resume dispensing government credits to China that were suspended last year at the Paris summit meeting after China's violent crackdown on pro-democracy protesters.  
In the declaration on Tuesday, the seven "agree to maintain the measures put into place at last year's summit." But there was no mention of Japan's suspended \$3.2 billion credit program for China. The U.S. secretary of state, James A. Baker 3d, made it clear that he had no objection to Japan's resuming its loans, and a European diplomat pointed out that the summit meeting was only a consultative body and had no power to prohibit Japan's acting in its own interests.  
Tadzo Watanabe, the Japanese government spokesman, told reporters that Mr. Kaifu had succeeded in watering down a "harsh" original draft by inserting references to loans from the World Bank to promote changes in the Chinese economy. The bank has approved \$500 million in loans to China for human needs since the crackdown last year.  
Mr. Watanabe said that the sanctions adopted at the Paris summit meeting did not cover bilateral aid, but that Japan had suspended its loans to China "voluntarily." He added that Japan would "resume its procedure for the third year loan depending on the situation in the future." He made it clear that he was announcing this now so that Japan's partners would not be surprised when the money was released, although this would not be "in a matter of days."  
He justified the resumption of aid on the argument that China was "dead serious" about economic change and that the money was designed to promote the process. He added that in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the same process was halting and had not yet been politically confirmed.  
In support of Mikhail S. Gorbachev's program of change, participating nations said: "We welcome the intention of the Soviet Union to move toward a democratic political system, as well as Soviet attempts to reform their economy along market principles."  
The summit message took note of recent positive developments and said "closer cooperation" would depend on advances in human rights.  
Then, at the opening sessions of the summit meeting on the campus of Rice University in Houston, the seven discussed the letter sent by President Gorbachev July 4 to Mr. Bush as summit chairman.  
The Soviet leader warned: "We now are in a critical stage of perestroika, which calls for radical measures to sustain our changes. Our internal transformation requires external financial and economic help. We need in particular assistance in terms of long-term credits, which should be provided by foreign capital."  
But summit participants did nothing to narrow their division on this request. West Germany regarded aid to the Soviet Union as urgent; France and Italy supported the Germans. The United States opposed aid lest it be wasted. But other factors influenced the U.S. position: domestic political opposition and budget stringency.  
Britain and Canada leaned toward the United States but could not oppose the Europeans. Japan found itself in a contradictory position: It wants to resume aid to China but opposes aid to Moscow as

## Gorbachev Wins Fresh Mandate, Jabs at Critics

### He Calls Party Hard-Liners Out of Touch With Society

By Michael Dobbs  
Washington Post Service  
MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev won re-election Tuesday as leader of the Soviet Communist Party in a lopsided contest after accusing his hard-line opponents of being out of touch with society.  
Mr. Gorbachev's convincing victory and spirited defense of his perestroika reform program punctuated the predominantly conservative mood of the landmark party congress.  
Ridiculing suggestions that perestroika was to blame for the country's present crisis, Mr. Gorbachev told critics that they should resign their state posts if they felt unable to support government policy.  
There is no way of bringing yesterday back," he said in a fighting speech that was punctuated by applause from the nearly 4,700 delegates. "No dictatorship, if someone has this crazy idea in his head, can resolve anything."  
After listening to a week of criticism by disgruntled Communist Party bureaucrats and senior army officers, Mr. Gorbachev appears to have reached the conclusion that the best form of defense is attack. His speech Tuesday, which was broadcast in full on nationwide television, was evidently designed to reassure the country that he will not surrender to hard-line pressure.  
The delegates voted by 3,411 to 1,116 to allow Mr. Gorbachev to remain general secretary of the party in addition to his other post as president of the Soviet Union. His opponent, Teimuraz Aviliani, who led a coalminers' strike in western Siberia a year ago, received 501 votes, with 4,020 delegates voting against him. Under the system at the congress, delegates are required to vote for or against each individual candidate.  
In a brief acceptance speech, Mr. Gorbachev said he interpreted the vote as an expression of support for his policies. He earlier called for sweeping changes in both the policy-making Central Committee and at lower levels of the party if he was elected.  
Although many midlevel party activists expressed reservations about Mr. Gorbachev's leadership, and his combination of top state and party posts, they ended up voting for him because they were afraid that his defeat would irretrievably split the party.  
A brilliant political tactician, the 59-year-old president sensed the ambivalence of the hall and succeeded in turning it to his advantage.  
After the election of a conservative, Ivan Polozkov, as leader of the newly created Russian Communist Party last month, thousands of rank-and-file Communists either quit the party or refused to pay their membership dues. The conservatives seemed to conclude that they needed a more acceptable leader for the all-union party in order to avoid a mass exodus and a catastrophic decline in political influence.  
Mr. Gorbachev's fiery speech marked the opening shot in what is likely to be a protracted battle for the future of the 19-million-strong party. The conservatives are likely to win a majority in the new Central Committee, which serves as a kind of party parliament in between congresses. As general secretary, however, Mr. Gorbachev has the right to pick a deputy who will be in charge of the day-to-day running of the party.  
Seven candidates were nominated Tuesday morning for the first publicly contested election for party general secretary in seven decades. But six of the nominees, mostly close Gorbachev allies, dropped out, leaving only Mr. Aviliani, the party chief in the Siberian town of Kiselevsk who helped organize a strike by coalminers a year ago.  
"Even a simple soldier can become a marshal," said Mr. Aviliani, 58, who was harassed by police in the 1970s because of his criticism of Leonid I. Brezhnev, then the Soviet leader.  
Miners in both Siberia and the Ukraine have announced they intend to proceed with a 24-hour "political strike" Wednesday to push for the government's resignation and the adoption of far-reaching economic reforms. The miners claim that the government has reneged on promises made last year to improve their living conditions.  
Summing up a weeklong political debate at the congress, Mr.



Mikhail S. Gorbachev, right, conferring with Anatoli Sobchak, the mayor of Leningrad, during a break in the Soviet party congress.

## Ecology: Europe Faults U.S.

By Roberto Suro  
New York Times Service  
HOUSTON — European officials at the economic summit conference have accused the United States of frustrating their efforts to reach a new accord to combat global warming.  
The officials, including members of the British, French and Italian delegations, angrily complained that John H. Sumnu, the White House chief of staff, had taken the leading role in organizing U.S. opposition to the global-warming initiative.  
Asked at a briefing Monday why the United States was resisting a West German proposal to set a target for reducing gases that cause global warming, Mr. Sumnu replied: "The issue is being addressed with a level of haste. There seems to be some propensity to deal with the issue without putting all the data on the table."  
In a letter to summit leaders in June, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany called for "internationally binding regulations" with "radical measures to limit" gas emissions that contribute to the greenhouse effect.  
"We must view the threat of climate change as a global challenge to all mankind," Mr. Kohl said. "The world expects the seven summit countries to come up with far-reaching, specific proposals."  
Mr. Sumnu insisted that the Bush administration had endorsed limits on some emissions through the Clean Air Act, but he opposed new limits, contending that they would require major changes in the American way of life and industrial structure.  
He noted, for instance, that because the United States was much larger than Japan or any of the European nations it had a greater reliance on cars and trucks to transport people and products.  
Commenting on Mr. Sumnu's position, James T.B. Tripp, general counsel of the Environmental Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group, said: "These statements may serve to explain why United States per capita consumption of fossil fuels is so high compared to Western Europe and Japan, but they are not legitimate excuses for United States refusal to limit carbon dioxide emissions and take steps to use energy much more efficiently."  
Although President George Bush has mustered some allies to support his views on the two other major issues being addressed at the summit talks — aid to the Soviet Union and international trade — he now stands alone on the third area of the agenda, the environment.  
As the summit meeting's official sessions began, European officials worried that the United States would block their effort to win a commitment to stabilize and then reduce emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases that contribute to the greenhouse effect. Many scientists say they believe that these gases trap heat from the sun that would otherwise escape back into space. The trapped gases then produce a gradual warming of the Earth's atmosphere.  
Except for the United States, all the industrial nations represented here have now pledged to

## Pro-Sandinista Unions Step Up Violent Strike

The Associated Press  
MANAGUA — Gunfire resounded through the streets on Tuesday, and backers of a violent strike rebuilt street barricades that the police and the army had dismantled overnight.  
President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro called on the army to intervene to end clashes between her supporters and Sandinistas backing a general strike that has lasted a week. The conflict has been the stiffest threat to her 10-week-old presidency.  
At least three people were reported killed in earlier gunfire. More were reported wounded overnight, but the extent of the casualties was not immediately clear.  
Most government ministries and state-owned businesses remained in the control of pro-Sandinista strikers on Tuesday. The army is dominated by the Sandinistas, and it was unclear whether soldiers would take up arms against compatriots who have organized the strikes and fought backers of Mrs. Chamorro with fists, rocks and guns.  
Barricades burned at key intersections, and the highway to the airport was blocked by barricades. Armored cars patrolled the streets of Managua, and gunfire could be heard during the night. The violence began Sunday evening and increased on Monday.  
The police said the dead included a man shot in a clash between government supporters and Sandinistas. The police also said that about 100 people had been wounded; hospitals reported much lower figures.  
The strikes and street violence have brought the country nearly to a standstill.  
In scenes reminiscent of the 1979 revolution that brought them to power, the Sandinistas built smoky bonfires of trash and tires throughout Managua on Monday and erected barricades.  
A haze hung over the capital, a city of 1 million people. Electricity and drinking water were cut off in most of Managua. Mail and operator-assisted telephone calls were suspended.  
There was virtually no bus service, and state-run cooperatives and other agricultural installations, textile and construction plants were idle. Striking air-traffic controllers shut down the international airport.  
Mrs. Chamorro, facing the worst crisis of her presidency, made a

## Kiosk

### Israeli Unable To Meet Baker

HOUSTON (AP) — The U.S. push for Middle East negotiations was delayed Tuesday as Israel sent word that its foreign minister was not well enough to meet next week in Paris with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d.  
The foreign minister, David Levy, is recovering from surgery for a circulatory ailment. Mr. Levy's physicians concluded after Mr. Baker proposed the meeting that his health would not permit him to travel to France, the State Department said.

### General News

The East German foreign minister said he was still concerned about NATO military strategy. Page 3.  
Kenya's leader left an African summit meeting to deal with turmoil at home. Page 3.  
Sports  
English soccer clubs were readmitted to competition in Europe. Page 14.  
Business/Finance  
Lyonaise des Eaux and Dumez of France are pondering a merger. Page 9.  
Crossword Page 7.

## Critics Say Hong Kong Trials Aim to Appease China

By Sheryl WuDunn  
New York Times Service  
HONG KONG — The British government this week will put on trial five prominent pro-democracy campaigners accused of using megaphones without a permit at demonstrations here. Critics say that the move is an attempt to appease the Chinese government.  
In a similar case July 4, Fung Chi-wood, who is an Anglican priest and well-known democracy campaigner, was convicted of failing to present his identification card to a police officer and collecting money without a permit during a rally. The defense called the trial "political prosecution."  
The issue has come up as the British authorities in Hong Kong face accusations of acting as Beijing's agent to suppress anti-communist or pro-democracy activities in the territory during the approach to 1997, when London will return Hong Kong to Beijing.  
The authorities in Hong Kong have banned some prominent Chinese exiles from the territory, censored films critical of the Communists and turned away a radio ship funded by exiles who wanted to broadcast anti-communist propaganda toward the mainland.  
The ordinance under which the five democracy campaigners will be tried is a statute enacted in 1900 to punish people for creating a public nuisance. This includes actions such as frightening a horse by striking a gong, slaughtering an animal in public, or engaging in crafts such as glass-blowing on public property without a license.  
Conviction carries a fine of less than \$10 or three months in jail. Mr. Fung faces the same penalties.  
The ban on megaphones had been applied only once before, the defense says, about three months ago, when another democracy campaigner used a megaphone to call people to a demonstration.  
The defendants in the present case, which will be tried Friday, say they have used megaphones many times before, sometimes in front of police officers, but this will be the first time they are being tried for it.  
The offenses took place when the defendants were leading rallies in January and February related to the Basic Law, the document that will guide Hong Kong's future. Chinese officials criticized the protests and have warned against Hong Kong being used as a "base for subversion" against China.  
Since the crackdown in Beijing in June 1989, Hong Kong democracy protesters have become more active in the territory. Small demonstrations take place regularly.  
The British government prosecuted him,

## Japan Graduates' Days of Wine and Rosy Offers

By Patrick L. Smith  
International Herald Tribune  
TOKYO — You thought the Japanese were content when it came to selling the world their cars, televisions and electronic knickknacks. Maybe you argue that the Japanese, polite to a fault at home, know the rules of the global marketplace but rarely play by them.  
There is nothing in the annals of Japanese corporate life, however, that is quite so quintessentially predatory as the way this nation's titans of industry descend on the newest crop of university graduates — or so humbling, perhaps, as the way the titans howl their recruits with the respect normally accorded an aging sage.  
If yuppies could cry, this city in summer would bring tears to their eyes. Not since man first earned "gentleman's C's" have the newly lettered been so wined, dined, pleasure-cruised, golf-weekended and otherwise showered with favors and gifts.  
What about an evening in an expensive hotel spring in the country? Or a "training seminar" in Hawaii?  
With Japan in its second-longest economic boom of the last four decades, the truth is there are simply not enough Japanese around to run things. Foreign laborers are here in the hundreds of thousands, but there seems no substitute for a fresh-faced Japanese graduate when it comes to signing newcomers onto the corporate treadmill.  
When Japan's academic year ends next April, its universities will award 426,000 bachelor's degrees. Of the 80 percent of graduates who will enter the job market, each will be offered an average of more than three jobs. In technology-related fields, it is seven jobs per graduate.  
The job offers, however, are not always straightforward. "I just had an interview with a jewelry and fashion company," said Yukie Takegata, 22, a senior at Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo. "They didn't exactly say, 'You're hired.' They said, 'See you next April.'"  
There is a reason for such speed and circumspection combined. In the 1950s, when Japan had a surplus of qualified executives, the reigning corporate chiefs decided the only way to keep students studying was to limit recruitment to a specific period, usually from early autumn through the following spring.  
Today, this more or less voluntary pact is still applied, but for a different reason: to give employers an even chance. And the way it is applied is the very model of the Japanese concept of the truth.  
There is the *tatemae* of the situation, the stated version, which is that no employer has yet started recruiting graduates; and there is the *honne*, the unspoken reality, which is that the grad hunt is already a near-violent free-for-all that threatens the survival of companies unable to compete with the giants.  
"Everyone thinks the recruiting guidelines are a good thing," said Shinya Sugano, an executive at a large U.S. chemical company. "But if you don't violate them, you're going to be left out."  
Mr. Sugano calls it *antagari*, the practice of harvesting rice when it is still green so that you are the first one in the village to have any. This year, Japan's corporations started harvesting in April, five months ahead of time, and have pushed the competition to fever pitch in recent weeks.  
What is recruiting? executives ask. Company representatives cannot enter university campuses this year until Aug. 20, but setting up last year's recruits in a coffee

See JAPAN, Page 2







## Australia Spaceport Facing Obstacles

By Michael Richardson  
International Herald Tribune

CANBERRA — Although a plan to launch Western-made satellites on Soviet rockets from a commercial spaceport in northern Australia has been given vital U.S. clearance, several problems must be overcome before the venture can proceed, officials said Tuesday.

Stephen Williams, executive director of the Cape York Space Agency, said he expected final government approval by the end of 1991 so that construction of the Australian spaceport could start in 1992 with the first launch in 1993.

But the agency has not said how it plans to raise the more than \$350 million Australian dollars (\$280 million) needed to finance the project. Some analysts say they doubt that future demand for satellite launches will provide an adequate rate of return on the investment.

Both the federal and Queensland governments have said the venture must be self-financing.

Meanwhile, a group of aborigines living near the remote and sparsely populated area of Cape York Peninsula in Queensland, where the launching site and an adjacent town are to be built, said it would seek a court injunction to block the project.

And Senator John Button, the Australian minister for industry, technology and commerce, said final government approval depended on the outcome of environmental and land-use studies, which could take several years.

Some conservation groups in Queensland voiced opposition to the project on Tuesday, saying it would have an adverse impact on

wilderness and heritage areas in Cape York Peninsula.

Wayne Goss, the premier of Queensland, said support of the state government was dependent on settlement of any outstanding Aboriginal land-claim issues over the site.

Jim Wallace, a spokesman for Wuthathi aborigines who are seeking a High Court injunction to prevent the Cape York Space Agency from taking possession of the site, said the project was "a threat to my people and their land."

But George Villafior, a spokesman for other aborigines on Cape York said they did not favor an expensive court challenge.

The 200,000-hectare (500,000-acre) launching site at Temple Bay on Cape York is close to the equator, a location that saves fuel costs in putting communication and scientific satellites into their usual equatorial orbits.

U.S. space launching sites, like those of China, the Soviet Union and Japan, suffer from the disadvantage of being a considerable distance from the equator.

But analysts said the key to the Australian bid to compete for international space launch business was access to reliable and relatively low-cost Soviet Zenit rockets.

United Technologies Corporation, a major American aerospace company, will manage the Cape York spaceport.

American officials said a request by the corporation for an end to a longstanding ban by Washington on Soviet rockets launching satellites using U.S. technology had been approved recently by President George Bush, in another gesture of goodwill and cooperation toward the Soviet Union.

Australian officials said there was no risk of sensitive U.S. satellite technology falling into Soviet hands because the rockets would be bought outright from the Soviet Union and shipped to Australia where the coupling with the satellites would take place.

U.S. rocket manufacturers and launching companies campaigned against the Australian plan, arguing that it could undercut U.S. business, and the Soviet space industry and put American satellite technology at risk.

The Zenit rockets are to be sold to Australia under an agreement signed by Glasnost, the Soviet space organization, and the Cape York Space Agency, a private Australian company that is developing the launching site plan.

Vyacheslav Dukov, vice president of Glasnost, met Senator Burton on Tuesday to discuss the spaceport project and supply of Soviet rockets.



REBEL DELEGATION AWAITED FOR LIBERIA PEACE TALKS — A guerrilla near the Liberian town of Paynesville as mediators of stalled talks in Freetown, Sierra Leone, awaited rebel representatives. "They say they are on their way," said Abass Banda, executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States. The talks were to have started on Friday.

## Moi Heads Home From Africa Talks After 15 Deaths in Kenyan Turmoil

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NAIROBI — President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya returned home Tuesday from a meeting of African leaders to confront fresh unrest. A government official in Nairobi announced that 15 people had died in three days of clashes in the capital and other cities.

Mr. Moi met with army chiefs, who assured him of their support.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Mr. Moi flew to Nairobi from neighboring Ethiopia before the formal opening of the Organization of African Unity summit meeting.

But he would not say whether Mr. Moi, who headed preliminary talks before the summit meeting, had left ahead of schedule.

Gideon Oyugi, permanent secretary in charge of security in President Moi's office, said at a press conference that 15 people had been killed in violence that began in the Kenyan capital Saturday and spread to nearby towns. Capital newspapers had previously put the figure at nine.

The government has ordered a security crackdown, with armed police units to patrol the capital and suburbs.

Calm appeared to have returned to Nairobi's commercial district,

which had experienced widespread violence Saturday and smaller disturbances Sunday.

The demonstrations are demanding a return to a multiparty system which has been banned since 1982. They also seek the release of two former ministers, Charles Rubia and Kenneth Matiba, who are leaders of the campaign to end one-party rule.

Diplomats and local reporters said Tuesday that disturbances had been reported in Dandora, a poor Nairobi suburb struck by rioting on Monday, and in the Kiambu district, 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of the capital.

Tensions were said to be running high in other towns, including Nakuru and Nyeri, where violent protests were reported on Monday.

State radio quoted the chief of general staff, General Mahmud Mohammed, as assuring Mr. Moi that the army supported him.

Diplomats said that senior officers were behind Mr. Moi but that lower ranks were disaffected because promotions consistently went to members of the president's tribe.

Mr. Moi blamed the riots on hoodlums and drug addicts, saying that recently detained opponents were fanning unrest.

## Bush Son Goes on Offensive In His S&L Scandal Defense

By T. R. Reid  
and Sharon LaFraniere  
Washington Post Service

DENVER — Neil M. Bush, angry and beleaguered, is defending his conduct as a director of a failed Denver savings and loan as well as his acceptance of what he conceded was "an incredibly sweet deal" in the form of a \$100,000 loan from a Denver investor whom he did not have to repay.

President George Bush's 35-year-old son, who faces a disciplinary hearing this fall before a one-man public-relations committee, has decided to launch a one-man public-relations campaign in connection with his role as a director of the defunct Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan Association, the collapse of which is expected to cost taxpayers about \$1 billion. He issued an eight-page response to the charges against him and began inviting reporters to his sparsely furnished office to hear his version of the events that have made him a figure in the largest financial scandal in U.S. history.

Digging through stacks of papers on the office floor, Mr. Bush acknowledged that he got "an incredibly sweet deal" in 1984 when a Denver investor, Kenneth M. Good, lent him \$100,000 and then forgave the debt. Mr. Bush also said that he would report that six-year-old payment as income on his 1990 tax return; he did not declare it at the time.

But that loan, Mr. Bush insisted Monday, was "totally unrelated" to his work as a director of Silverado. Other charges against him, Mr. Bush said, stem from political "opportunism" and "press sensationalism."

In January, the federal Office of Thrift Supervision proposed a decree banning Neil Bush from the banking business because of his actions as a director of the bankrupt thrift. He refused to accede, despite urging from White House aides to put a quick end to the embarrassing case. He is now battling a reduced charge brought by the same agency.

Describing himself as "stubborn," Mr. Bush said it would have been much easier to accede, to "move on in terms of just the quality of my life."

Since then, he said, "this negative publicity has just, you know, taken over, dominated my life for six months."

In addition, Mr. Bush said, his position in the savings-and-loan inquiry may help Democrats turn the scandal to political advantage.

Still, he said, he had decided to fight, "because I know I haven't done anything wrong."

The regulators have scheduled a public hearing for September, charging that Mr. Bush violated

conflict-of-interest rules by voting to approve Silverado loans to individuals with whom he had business dealings.

After keeping his own counsel for months, he has decided to take his case to the public. "I feel like I'm warning for a fight," he said.

In the document Mr. Bush issued, he argues that the disciplinary proceeding against him "is unprecedented." He notes that thrift regulators have not previously pursued such charges against a person who is no longer involved in banking.

Mr. Bush quit the Silverado board in the summer of 1988.

Mr. Bush also challenges the regulators' contention that he violated regulations by voting to approve Silverado loans to Bill L. Walters, a Denver developer who had invested in Mr. Bush's oil company. The president's son said there had been no conflict of interest in his votes because other bank officials knew of his ties to Mr. Walters.

Mr. Bush said he was sure a "disclosure" had been made "that was looked at by legal counsel." But records show that he did not mention his business connection with Mr. Walters on required conflict-of-interest forms.

Mr. Bush, in his long response, also discusses dealings between Silverado and Mr. Good, the investor who forgave a \$100,000 loan to Mr. Bush a year before he joined the bank board. "Bush abstained from voting on this matter and all transactions relating to Ken Good," according to the written response.

Bank records show that Mr. Bush did not vote when Silverado's board approved loans to Mr. Good. But regulators say Mr. Bush proposed that fellow board member grant Mr. Good a \$900,000 line of credit, which they did.

In another instance, regulators say, Mr. Bush did not tell the other directors that his oil company was to receive an investment of up to \$3 million from Mr. Good, who at the time told Silverado that he lacked the money to repay his loans from the thrift.

Mr. Bush offered further explanation of the \$100,000 payment he received from Mr. Good in 1984. Under the arrangement, he said, Mr. Bush was not expected to repay the loan unless the invested money returned a profit. Mr. Bush said Mr. Good offered such loans to several Denver business people to pay for commodity speculation. The investment "went bad," Mr. Bush said, so Mr. Good forgave the loans to all investors.

SPORT '2'



'la collection'

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## Two Pilots Grounded By NASA

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HOUSTON — For the first time, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has grounded two astronauts, both veteran navy shuttle commanders, for violations of safety rules.

One was involved in a fatal collision of stunt planes at a Texas air show last weekend, NASA officials said, and the other flew too close to an aircraft.

The two astronauts, Commander Robert L. Gibson and Captain David M. Walker, were grounded for violating crew operations guidelines, a spokesman for NASA's Johnson Space Center said Monday.

Commander Gibson, who will miss a scheduled mission in 1992, was grounded for a year. Captain Walker will not fly for two months.

Commander Gibson's stunt plane collided with another during a race Saturday, sending it into a cornfield and killing its pilot. Commander Gibson landed safely.

Captain Walker was suspended for various operating guideline infractions, the NASA spokesman said, including a May 1989 incident in which the pilot of a Pan American World Airways jetliner reported a "near midair collision" between his plane and a T-38 jet flown by the captain.

Captain Walker had been scheduled to command a Defense Department mission next March. He has been replaced on the flight and suspended from T-38 flight status, NASA said.

"It's the first time we've ever replaced members of a crew for disciplinary reasons," said a NASA spokesman. The groundings will only slightly shrink the astronaut corps, which has 85 members.

Commander Gibson, 43, piloted an eight-day Challenger mission in 1984 and led the 1986 Columbia mission and the December 1988 Atlantis mission. Captain Walker, 46, piloted the November 1984 flight of Discovery and commanded the space shuttle Atlantis during a four-day flight in May 1989.

NASA cited a policy limiting high-risk recreational activity for astronauts named to shuttle flight crews.

(NYT, AP)

## AMERICAN TOPICS

Mountain Bikes

For Mounted Police

Police have patrolled on bicycles for generations, but Seattle's police force is believed the first to use mountain bikes — multigear, with thick, deep-tread tires for climbing, heavy-duty frames and wide handlebars for better control. The Los Angeles Times reports that what started with two officers making rounds in 1987 has evolved into 28 "cycle cops" citywide.

They can dart down alleys and stairs, zip across parks and up hills. They can suffer through heavy traffic. And they're so quiet that many a criminal has found himself staring at a badge in the middle of an illegal transaction.

Paul Grady, one of those who came up with the bike idea, said he's received queries from almost 200 police departments worldwide on how to start a cycling squad.

But there are drawbacks. Bicycle police can't chase a speeding car and they need help after an arrest is made. "You're not going to arrest people and then put them on your handlebars," Officer Grady said.

The Exxon Valdez, the tanker that caused the worst oil spill in U.S. history, gushing out nearly 11 million gallons (40 million liters) of crude oil when it ran aground off Valdez, Alaska, in March 1989, is undergoing \$30 million worth of repairs in San Diego. It will be returned to service next month as the Exxon Mediterranean, to ply European and Middle Eastern waters. "It is consistent with our policy that the vessels be named according to their location," a spokesman said. Exxon decided against fitting the ship with a double hull, protection that would be required in U.S. waters under legislation pending in Congress.

Arthur Higbee

## Short Takes

With the baby boom long over and the children of the baby boomers not reaching college age before the mid-1990s, many colleges and universities are dipping far deeper into their waiting lists of applicants than in any year in recent memory. Even Stanford University, one of the most selective institutions in the country, has accepted 200 students from its waiting list. In previous years Stanford had taken no wait-listers at all. The U.S. Department of Education estimates that 2.6 million pupils graduated from high school this year, compared to 2.8 million last year and 3.15 million in 1977.

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Arthur Higbee

"The most egregious instance" of the inflation of graduate degrees "was the instant transformation of the old law degree, LL.B., or Bachelor of Laws, into the chic J.D., or Doctor of Law, John P. Roche says in a letter to The New York Times.

No dissertation is required; the degree "only proves that its recipient has emerged successfully from three years of processing in a sausage factory."

Mr. Roche, a professor of politics at Tufts University and a presidential adviser in the Johnson administration, theorizes that "law school deans, in possible violation of antitrust laws, engaged in a brilliant conspiracy some 25 years ago to up-scale the style of their products."

However, they can't be taken to court, because all lawyers and judges are interested parties and would have to disqualify themselves from legal action.

In one of the early scenes of the new thriller "Die Hard 2," actor Bruce Willis rushes to a public phone at Dulles Airport in Washington. Newsweek magazine has noticed that the telephone company logo reads "Pacific Bell." Pacific Bell operates only in California. The film cost \$62 million to make.

Arthur Higbee

## First Black U.S. Archbishop Resigns Over Health

The Associated Press

ATLANTA — Archbishop Eugene A. Marino of Atlanta, the nation's first black archbishop and the highest-ranking black Catholic clergyman, resigned his position Tuesday citing health reasons.

Archbishop Marino, 56, said that he needed "an extended period of spiritual renewal, psychological therapy and medical supervision."

He added that "the church of Atlanta needs a shepherd who is healthy."

The archbishop had temporarily relinquished his duties in May because of severe stress and a near heart attack.

A spokesman for the archdiocese said the Most Reverend James P. Lyke was appointed apostolic administrator and that officials did not know when a new archbishop would be named.

The Archdiocese of Atlanta covers 69 counties in northern Georgia with a Catholic population of

150,000. Archbishop Marino was ordained in 1962 and consecrated bishop in 1974. He has been archbishop of Atlanta since 1988.

The archbishop said he hoped to recover and be able to serve the church in a "less demanding capacity."

The Vatican announced that Pope John Paul II has accepted the archbishop's resignation as well as that of Bishop Leo T. Maher of San Diego. Bishop Maher, who is 75, the customary retirement age for

bishops, underwent surgery this spring for a malignant brain tumor. He will be succeeded by Monsignor Robert E. Brom, who was appointed coadjutor last year.

Bishop Maher was in the news in November when he denied communion to a Catholic California state assemblywoman after she ran campaign advertisements supporting abortion. The candidate, Lucy Killea, used the ban as a rallying point and narrowly won election to the California Senate.

Arthur Higbee

## N.Y. Rape Suspect Wasn't Read His Rights, Lawyer Says

By Ronald Sullivan  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Defense lawyers in the Central Park rape trial have tried to show that one of the defendants charged with attempted murder and rape of a jogger last year was arrested by the police without first being read his rights.

Jose Rosario, a New York City police detective, testified Monday that he and several other officers went to the home of Antron McCray, 16, on April 20, 1989, about 11 hours after the woman was found raped and beaten. The

youth, along with Raymond Santana, 15, and Yusuf Salaam, 16, is being tried in the attack on the woman.

Three other youths are to be tried later.

Four of the youths, including Antron McCray, made incriminating videotaped statements after they were read their rights. Another incriminated himself in a written statement he gave the police, the authorities said.

One youth did not make any statements.

The heart of the defense's strategy

is to raise doubts about whether the statements were given voluntarily or whether the defendants were told that they could have lawyers present during questioning.

A 1966 U.S. Supreme Court decision known as the Miranda ruling requires that defendants be told of such rights at the time of their arrests.

Mr. Rosario said that when he went to Antron McCray's home, "it was not to arrest him or anything like that."

"I did not know if he was a

victim, a witness or a suspect at that time," he said.

"But I assumed he was not a suspect."

"Then you did not read him his Miranda warning, is that correct?" asked Michael Joseph, the youth's lawyer.

"That's correct," Mr. Rosario said. "It wasn't necessary."

Justice Thomas B. Galligan has ruled that the defendant's statements were not coerced and has admitted them as evidence.

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Norway (Oslo)	NJB 2,200	1,076	1,200
—hand delivery	NJB 2,700	1,326	1,450
Portugal	PBB 31,000	15,000	17,000
Spain (Madrid)	PBB 35,000	17,000	19,000
—hand delivery Barcelona, Bilbao, Seville	PBB 38,000	18,000	20,000
—hand delivery Madrid	PBB 41,000	20,000	23,000
Sweden (Stockholm)	SKB 2,200	1,076	1,200
—hand delivery	SKB 2,600	1,276	1,400
Switzerland	SFB 500	249	275
Rest of Europe, North Africa, former French	\$ 500	249	275
Africa (Middle East)	\$ 650	319	355
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# Herald Tribune

## Houston and Uruguay

The leaders of the seven major industrialized nations may arrive at decisions in Houston this week that can make or break the present Uruguay Round of multinational trade talks.

If they listen to food exporting countries, especially in the Third World, they will hear this: Open up markets, or forget about new trade rules on services and intellectual property. That message, so critical to trade and growth, needs to be heard.

If the Houston participants follow the European Community, which offers a vague and not very stringent approach to subsidies, the Uruguay Round will fail. But if they take heed of the U.S. position, that developed countries should end their protectionist farm policies, there is a good chance of a new trade pact, with benefits for almost all.

Disagreements over farm subsidies will not be resolved in Houston. But the leaders can make a crucial start with a ringing declaration to their trade negotiators to phase down farm subsidies.

None of the participants arrived in Houston with clean hands. Japan bars rice imports; the United States blocks sugar imports from desperately poor Latin American neighbors. But Western Europe is the worst sinner. It protects inefficient farmers by blocking imports and keeping internal prices high. It then dumps the enormous surpluses on foreign markets by subsidizing exports.

This bailout costs European taxpayers and consumers a whopping \$100 billion a year. And low-cost Third World farmers are wiped out by the influx of artificially cheap European exports and blocked access to Europe's markets. The monumentally wasteful system is testimony to the political power of Europe's 10 million farmers.

The Bush administration is fighting to turn all this around. President Bush is pressuring Japan and the EC to phase out protectionist farm policies.

This would hurt protected growers, but help overall U.S. exports. Countries still could provide farmers with income supplements unrelated to production — welfare. But subsidies or any other interference with market prices would end.

The administration's specific recommendation is to convert protectionist policies into tariffs, which would be phased down. The advantage of tariffs is that they are visible and easily monitored.

"Tariffication" is how industrialized countries eliminated barriers to trading manufactured goods; it is also the best way to handle farm goods.

The Europeans prefer to work with an "aggregate measure" of protectionism, as yet undefined, which they would lower. That would allow them, for example, to reduce some tariffs and raise others.

The problem is that an aggregate measure would be hard to interpret and could easily disguise the impact of specific protectionist policies.

The Uruguay Round is beginning to take on the flavor of trade union bargaining. Everyone waits until the midnight deadline to compromise. But delay here could be fatal. The issues are too complicated for a last-minute compromise; and there are scores of countries, each with its own internal constituency, to placate.

The leaders meeting in Houston do not need to resolve all the details. But they do have to stand up to farm blocs and give the orders to make the Uruguay Round succeed.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Louisiana Bombshell

Legislators in Baton Rouge have put their governors on the spot this year on the question of abortion restrictions. In March, Governor Cecil Andrus of Idaho came under tremendous pressure to sign a bill that would have in effect outlawed abortion in Idaho. He vetoed it. Now Louisiana lawmakers have sent a similar bombshell to Governor Buddy Roemer, who must decide within 20 days whether to veto, sign or let the bill become law without his signature.

The Louisiana law is even worse than the Idaho one. It would outlaw abortion except in cases of rape or incest reported promptly, or where necessary to save the life of the mother. Doctors performing abortions for any other reason would be subject to fines of \$10,000 to \$100,000 and one to 10 years in prison at hard labor. Originally, the Louisiana bill contained no exemption for rape or incest, but that measure was vetoed by the governor, and his veto was sustained over the weekend. The amended version was passed in the final hours before adjournment Sunday and is now on the governor's desk.

Abortion opponents in Louisiana hope to present the Supreme Court with the most restrictive law in America as a test of the

justice's fidelity to the underlying principle of the Roe v. Wade ruling, which found a constitutional right to an abortion. Certainly, a statute as sweeping as Louisiana's could not pass court muster unless Roe were repudiated. That is unlikely. The American Civil Liberties Union says it will test the statute if it becomes law.

Although Governor Roemer describes himself as a "right-to-life" — as did Governor Andrus — he sees the constitutional problems in approving the bill. He has raised procedural questions about the manner in which the bill was passed and substantive ones concerning requirements that victims of rape and incest must have reported the crime within seven days and received medical treatment. The attorney general of the state has voiced his objections. The governor is in a tough spot. Like Governor Andrus, he comes up for re-election relatively soon, and he will have a lot of disappointed legislators on his hands if he exercises a veto. But if Governor Roemer shows the same political courage as his colleague in Boise, he will reject this repressive and mean-spirited bill.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

## Barring Museum Doors

The disappearance of three paintings from three Paris museums within a few hours was not the art world's worst recent heist, but the reaction of five small Paris museums was unusually sharp. They announced they would close permanently to individual visitors. When a museum is so worried about the need to preserve and safeguard its paintings that it has to give up the quality that makes it a museum — the display of those paintings to the public — then you know something serious is going on. The growing technical sophistication of art thieves, who sliced a Renaiot out of its frame at the Louvre last week without tripping the building's electronic alarm system, is only one element. Such thefts create a destructive nervousness, especially in small museums whose intimacy is their charm and whose small-scale operations will not support the costs of sophisticated security.

Only a tenth of artworks stolen in this way are ever recovered, and many suffer damage, especially when, as in Paris, the theft involves cutting the canvas. But what happens to the rest, and who benefits? When the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston lost a record number of masterpieces last winter, the standard conspiracy theories flew: a mad collector somewhere, a ransom scheme, a ring of Japanese investors.

There has been no evidence for these wild scenarios. Constance Lowenthal of the New York-based International Fund for Art Research offers a simpler scenario: Rather than looking specifically for "great art," she suggests, thieves may simply grab a painting from a museum as they would take money from a bank, then sell it for a laughably small percentage of its value to a fence who knows the goods are stolen but takes the risk. Several transactions later, the trail is obscured, and the price is close enough to market range so that a legitimate buyer may simply think he is getting a bargain. Having paid, such a buyer is often reluctant to consider that the work may be illegitimately acquired, which explains why many paintings that are recovered do not reappear for a decade or a generation.

Such a scenario would explain why few art thieves are caught. More ominously, it implies that the theft of a truly world-famous painting is on one level a tactical error; the thief can hardly unload it, and the likelihood of its ever reappearing is iffy at best. That puts the crime back on museum security, on tighter access and expensive insurance. Museums are on tough times already, and they surely do not need this.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Comment

### Albania's Transformation

The road to reform is by now irreversible. But if the ultimate aim is clear, when and how Albania returns to the international community remains to be seen — whether the "Romanian syndrome" of further bloodshed will prevail, with Albania following the path of neo-communist transformation as in Bucharest and Sofia, or whether Tirana will break completely with its past.

— Corriere della Sera (Milan).

It looks difficult or impossible for President Ali to make enough concessions to placate the people, while keeping final control. The other means by which the regime is trying to secure its survival, namely the continued terrorizing of the population, comes more naturally to it. When the ruthlessness of the authorities is taken into account, the bravery of the Albanians who have

shown dissent is all the more remarkable.

— The Independent (London).

### The Sniffles in Asia

When economic sneezes, politics catches a cold. Growing economic links between China and Taiwan are paralleled, if for the moment in a rather pale way, by warming relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union, which is quite prepared to sacrifice its ties with communist North Korea in the process. Vietnam, for all its ideological protestations, is desperate for Western investment. Laos, next door, is introducing legislation to protect capitalist investment. These are welcome trends. Only by recognizing the primacy of the economic factor can nations hope to arrive at the sort of political understanding conducive to peace.

— The Straits Times (Singapore).

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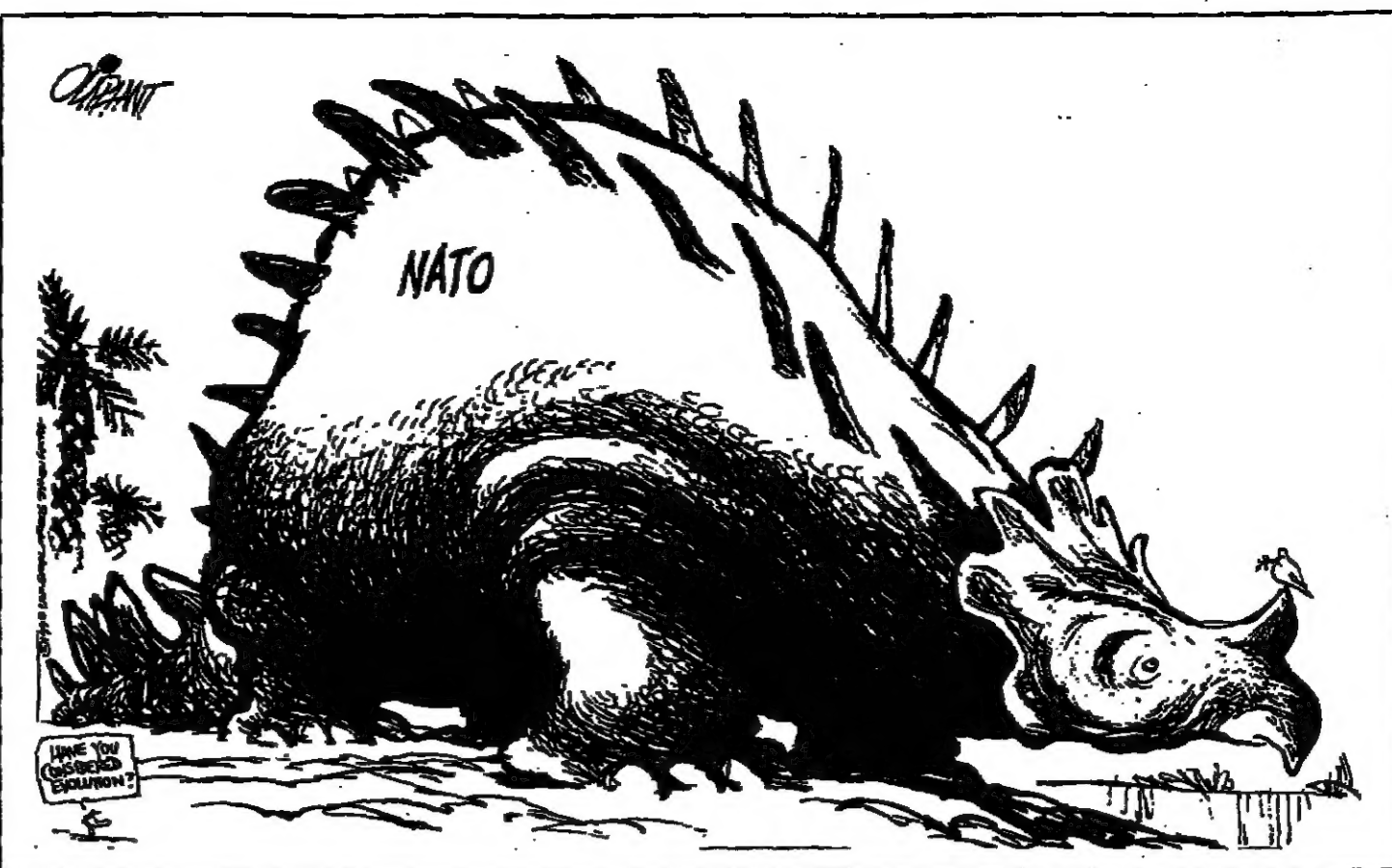
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## Amid the Jockeying, Some Sensible Ideas for Europe

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — Just when the noise level of complaints about lack of American vision in response to the new needs of Europe was reaching screech point, the Bush administration came up with an impressive plan.

Despite allied grumbles, it won warm support because it goes a long way toward meeting problems opened by German reunification and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. Presumably, resentment at Washington will evaporate as governments get on with remodeling NATO.

Last year's NATO summit meeting produced the same sense of administration drift, mounting tension and — at the last minute — Bush proposals that brought accord.

This time there was not even a quick tour by special envoys to brief allied leaders on what to expect in London. There were just letters and phone calls from the president, which made Europeans feel shut out of the preparations.

Mr. Bush and Secretary of State James Baker like this kind of personal diplomacy, but it has a price. It contributes to fears that the new "special relationship" is the Washington-Bonn axis, and that both Britain and France are being left in the cold.

The French snuff that the United States is foolishly backing any whim of Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, although it is Paris that has been pushing hardest for Mr. Kohl's scheme to buy Moscow's blessing.

President François Mitterrand of France did not want a NATO meeting until late in the year (and there may be another in December) so as to work out what he calls "the European identity in security affairs." It is not clear what he means, but

Paris has reversed gears for the time being.

For at least six months, France was edging toward formal involvement with NATO's military structure, which would make it much easier to solve problems of reform.

Now, miffed, Mr. Mitterrand is saying France's defense is entirely independent. Further, in part aside, French officials suggest that the United States is blocking useful change. "The Americans always get annoyed when Europe starts to emancipate itself," Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said recently.

This kind of jockeying for position and spurs of personal pique are probably to be expected in a period of difficult diplomacy launching a new basis for allied relations. Too bad there was not more finesse, but the underlying agreement is solid.

The Europeans want NATO to continue and they want Americans in Europe, even as they also want to offer Mikhail Gorbachev the assurances he says he needs to accept new German arrangements.

There is strong evidence supporting Britain's foreign minister, Douglas Hurd, when he said in an interview with the International Herald Tribune (July 9), "I've never known a time when there was less anti-Americanism in Europe, whether in Britain or on the Continent."

His judgment that "American engagement is absolutely fundamental to stability" is widely shared. The Soviets are coming around to the same view, but it costs them, particularly in Mr. Gorbachev's tense internal politics. There is evident difference

between the Foreign Ministry and the military establishment, starting at Eastern Europe's "loss."

Soviet diplomats are aware that they caused some of their own problems, by arguing too insistently that a united Germany in NATO was unacceptable. Now they need a way to back out, and Mr. Bush is providing that. He has wisely said or done nothing to humiliate them.

The grievance of most Soviet officers is not leaving Germany but having no housing, no jobs to go home to. The idea of staying on is not as attractive as the military planners claim.

Already there have been attacks on their soldiers, and the East German defense minister said some had been dismissed to prevent retaliation, which could lead to grave incidents.

There is a good chance that the new NATO plan can be the key to a series of agreements with the East and adjustments in the West to construct the transition Europe needs after the Cold War.

The long term, the ideal of a workable all-European security pact, is not the problem now. It is getting there.

After floundering, Washington has produced some sensible and sensitive ideas to carry out Mr. Bush's pledge of going "beyond containment."

The proposal to send experts, not just a flood of billions, to help the Soviets make their railroads, their grain storage system, their food distribution work is another example of identifying the critical needs and addressing them.

This is the way to proceed, concretely. Leave the grand designs to historians' hindsight. Even with rumpled edges, this is statesmanship.

The New York Times

## Sure, Let's Help the East — but Who's Got the Cash?

By Henry Kaufman

NEW YORK — While we all applaud the turn of Eastern Europe, and the embryonic turn of the Soviet Union, to more democratic and market-oriented societies, we must ask where the funds are to come from to finance this transformation.

Only one country, East Germany, will have good access to funds; West Germany is financially strong, its financial institutions are well capitalized, and its business corporations are generally highly liquid.

Moreover, the risks of providing funds to East Germany are limited. With political unity to follow economic integration, East Germany will become part of the business and financial structure of the West — an important advantage.

Of course, rebuilding East Germany will add to financing demands on the West. German interest rates will be increased to quell inflationary pressures. But credit will be available.

With the exception of Romania, all the countries of the East have large external debts to Western governments and private bank creditors. To service this debt, all will need to generate either a trade surplus, borrow additional funds or have foreigners invest substantial equity.

Where will these funds come from? Some corporations will be attracted to the new market potential in Eastern Europe. They will use their own credit strength to put in place factories, products and services, expecting eventually to be able to repatriate earnings.

These investments will be only modestly helpful. Political uncertainty during the transition to a decentralized economic system will deter larger investments. Corporate funds cannot overcome the burden of a weak infrastructure and a decaying industrial plant and can hardly lift the East to international competitiveness.

Another source of funds might be the large international commercial banks. But recent experience with international lending has been disappointing. West European banks have written off many of their loans to less-developed countries, and American banks are still making provisions for them. In addition, all major banks are now required to maintain tougher capital ratios than a few years ago, when international lending to developing countries was flourishing, and their loan portfolios relative to their assets are extremely high historically.

The high level of interest rates globally also militates against the East Europeans gaining access to private institutional funds. Even the most creditworthy borrowers in the industrial countries are borrowing at near record inflation-adjusted interest rates. The East European countries and the Soviet Union would not be viewed as prime borrowers and thus would have to pay stiffer rates. And high interest rates increase debt burdens.

The only viable alternative, therefore, is for the major industrial countries to provide sizable official financing. A sort of Marshall Plan might be in order. But the United States is not in a position to lead such an effort. After the war, U.S. financial institutions were strong and highly liquid, and American corporations had the capacity to expand. The aid provided by the United States went to countries with a history of economic decentralization. The situation is far different today.

An alternative version might be a consortium of major industrial countries that would provide grants, aid and soft loans to the East. This would put the issue in the correct light — as

## Europe Is Reclaiming the Language of Liberalism

By Gerald Marzorati

NEW YORK — The editor of Le Monde, André Fontaine, remarked not long ago that European intellectuals, West and East-Central, were themselves undergoing a historic transformation, having come to "all use the same words and concepts and speak of the same things." Today in Budapest and in Paris, in books about politics and culture, in discussions at literary conferences, there is talk of rights, individual autonomy, pluralism, humanism, reform, progress.

Among too many European literary intellectuals on either side of the Iron

Alain Renaud — seeking to reclaim the liberal language for Europe.

It was at this very moment that there emerged in the United States both a neoconservative movement, bent on attacking liberalism from the right, and a cadre of academic radicals seeking, from the left, to render meaningless its key concepts. By the 1980s these two intellectual trends had come to dominate American literary and scholarly conversation.

The neoconservatives talked of

slovak and Polish and Hungarian writers meet to discuss ways to ease the region's ethnic tensions through the granting of minority rights.

Last spring in Budapest, where 19th-century liberals read Hungarian translations of Jefferson and Tocqueville, the former dissident and now parliament member Miklos Harsanyi asked me, in a conversation about liberalism, "What is this thing with the 'L-word'?" In more ways than one, Europe may be giving its own way.

## Perhaps what is most 'American' about Europe's new liberals, East and West, is their pragmatism.

Certain these words had fallen into disuse, or worse. They happen to be the crucial words and concepts of American liberalism, and therein lies a neglected story — and an unfortunate irony. For what Lionel Tilling once called the only substantial American intellectual tradition — that of liberalism, with its notions of tolerance, idealism and the peaceable widening of the circle of those possessing rights — has all but disappeared from America's intellectual life.

While the language of liberalism has its roots in the European Enlightenment, Europe's most influential intellectuals largely abandoned it in this century for the words and concepts of nationalism, fascism, Marxism and, most recently, the variety of anti-liberal, anti-humanist modes of thought we group under the rubric "post-structuralism." Not until the mid-1970s did there begin to emerge young writers and thinkers — Adam Michnik in Poland, George Konrad in Hungary, Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia and a host of French authors, most recently Luc Ferry and

"traditional values," thought to be eroded by liberal ones, and of a "crisis of authority," brought on, they maintained, by too much talk of rights. The academic radicals talked of "deconstructing" those "bourgeois rights" (free speech, equality before the law) that are not a source of freedom (itself a notion to be deconstructed) but rather a form of "logocentric repression."

The language employed by neoconservatives was that of England's Tories: seeping, apocalyptic. The language used by the academics, a mix of neo-Marxism and semiotics, was a Continental language, precisely that being abandoned by the new French liberals. The language of American liberalism — in a prosaic dialect of surveys and statistics — was spoken in the 1980s only by social scientists, think-tankers and other policy intellectuals. Of the liberal imagination, spirit and tradition, little was heard.

The United States, acting within this tradition, played no small role in bringing about the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, which provided the opposi-

The writer is president of Henry Kaufman & Co., a financial consulting firm. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1890: An Eye on the East

VIENNA — The semi-official Presse takes a survey of the situation in the East, and, detecting Russian machinations in all the recent events from Albania to Erzeroum, remarks that as the summer season is always most propitious for the so-called Nationalist movements of Russia's creation, Europe will have to watch Eastern affairs with a close attention during the next few weeks.

### 1915: Sultan Assailed

LONDON — While the Sultan of Egypt was going to prayers to-day (July 10), a bomb was thrown from a window. It fell at the feet of the heroes, but did not explode. The criminal escaped. There is reason to suppose that he will shortly be arrested. An attempt to kill the Sultan of Egypt was made on April 8 by a native named Khalil, who fired a shot at him but missed. Khalil was hanged.

## The Caution That Masks Indecision

By Stephen M. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — How is it that we Americans can feel so mellow about the progress that the American ideas of democracy and free enterprise have made around the globe, and at the same time be so nervous about holding our place? If we are so smart in our choice of system, why aren't we rich — specifically, why aren't we more confident that we can stay rich enough to tackle the domestic and foreign tasks that our interests and ambitions place on the national agenda?

I ask this as one who has been struggling to put together the mental pieces brought home from two trips abroad in the past year. The first trip was to the Soviet Union, where an empire, ideology, model and threat can be seen crumbling before one's eyes. The second was to Japan, where one stands with apprehensive respect, if not awe, before a country and system that seem to have organized at least some aspects of postindustrial society notably better than America has. How should Americans be adjusting anxieties and resources between the old challenge and the new?

The place to leap in is the debate over whether the United States is or is not in "decline." This is a recurrent American discussion brought to a fresh boil about two years ago by Paul Kennedy's suggestion in "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers" that the American global position was coming into the perilous condition of "imperial overstretch" that had undone great powers in times past. He caught the mood of strategic anxiety that existed before Mikhail Gorbachev's foreign policy ideas had sunk in either in Moscow or in Washington; it made his book a best-seller.

Many people later felt that no sooner had the Kennedy book appeared than it was run over by a truck in the form of the Soviet Union's East European collapse and its deepening internal deterioration. The parallel global blooming of democracy and free enterprise produced the comforting conclusion in those quarters that Yale's Professor Kennedy had spotted the wrong falling star.

In fact he did not, and he is mis-cast as a "doomsayer." But of course when historians let themselves get predictive they are not less immune to surprises than politicians and journalists, and no more than the rest of us did Mr. Kennedy anticipate the extent of Kremlin convulsion and policy review. These developments are what suddenly made the march of American resources to American overseas commitments no longer a daunting problem. The felt requirement to prepare indefinitely for heavy political and military challenges abroad has been shrinking visibility, most conspicuously in Europe, though the change is being reflected only slowly in the Pentagon budget.

The change makes something of a prophet of another policy-minded scholar, Harvard's Joseph Nye. His study of the changing international scene, entitled "Bound to Lead," nicely survived the revolution in Eastern Europe that happened to take place between his writing and its publication in the spring. The mood he catches is one of relief and economic concern. The indexes he favors in calculating America's place in the economic and political firmament leave the United States well within the comfort range, although he issues bracing calls for Americans to keep up with the Japanese and otherwise to find a cooperative place in a troublesome world.

Will we do it? Politically, in deliberations on budget priorities and in matters of education, savings, investment, technology and trade, Americans are still washing back and forth in the policy sea. There are tendencies but no final decisions.

We have not entirely let go — nor should we, quite yet — of our long and fearful fascination with the Soviet Union, although it has to be said that in public attitudes and policy architecture we are keeping up pretty well. Nor have we fastened on to a new concentration on the more diffuse domestic difficulties posed and represented by Japan; here it seems we are definitely lagging behind the needs of the times.

Caution, sometimes reflecting prudence, sometimes masking indecision, is the American style of the 1990s: a national leaning, not just a Bush administration preference. It is better suited to help America on the Soviet side than on the Japanese side. There, America's affluence, or perhaps more precisely its credit rating, is allowing us to juggle hard choices a bit longer. But surely not indefinitely.

The Washington Post

### 1940: Hungarian Zeal

MUNICH — Fuehrer Adolf Hitler and the Foreign Ministers of the Rome-Berlin axis have reportedly curbed Hungary's ambition for further dismemberment of Rumania. Premier Count Paul Teleki of Hungary and his Foreign Minister, here to discuss the demand that Rumania restore at least part of Transylvania, were said to have been told flatly that Hungary must not now upset the Balkan equilibrium. Germany and Italy want to integrate Balkan economic resources into the new order of Europe, and so, in the axis view, revisionist claims must be postponed, especially if they carry the threat of violence. Any revision for Hungary will carry no German endorsement until Hungary gives binding assurances that Germans within her borders will receive better treatment, and a clear statement as to where she stands on German plans for rearrangement of Europe.

— From the New York edition of the New York Herald Tribune.



## OPINION

About 'Massive Retaliation,'  
What Came Next, and Why

By Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

WASHINGTON — As usual, the key to the nuclear jargon of the hour is history. How, for instance, may one distinguish between "no first use" of nuclear weapons—a policy declared by the Soviet Union with some fanfare eight years ago—and the use of those arms only as "a last resort," the new policy President Bush advanced at the meeting of NATO leaders in London?

A convenient entry point is the long-discarded doctrine of "massive retaliation," the official U.S. nuclear policy of the 1950s. Massive retaliation implied that the United States would risk its own nuclear devastation by responding, with nuclear weapons, to any serious Soviet attack on Western Europe, even by conventional means. It had the attraction of being inexpensive, at least as defense strategies go, and it was certainly terrifying, to friends as well as foes.

It had the rather serious defect of being nearly, if not quite, incredible. Its critics, centered in the U.S. Army, decided it as a simplified big-brother strategy, driven by budgetary chintziness. Actually, "massive retaliation" was a lot less incredible than it seemed then, or later became. But only President Dwight Eisenhower and a restricted circle knew why. The reason was that U.S. surveillance, then still secret, showed that the Soviet Union had no assured intercontinental nuclear-delivery system. Mr. Eisenhower knew that Nikita Khrushchev's nuclear-raising threats and boasts and rocket-missile were mostly hot air. That situation did not change until after the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

The successor doctrine, "flexible response," adopted by the Democratic ad-

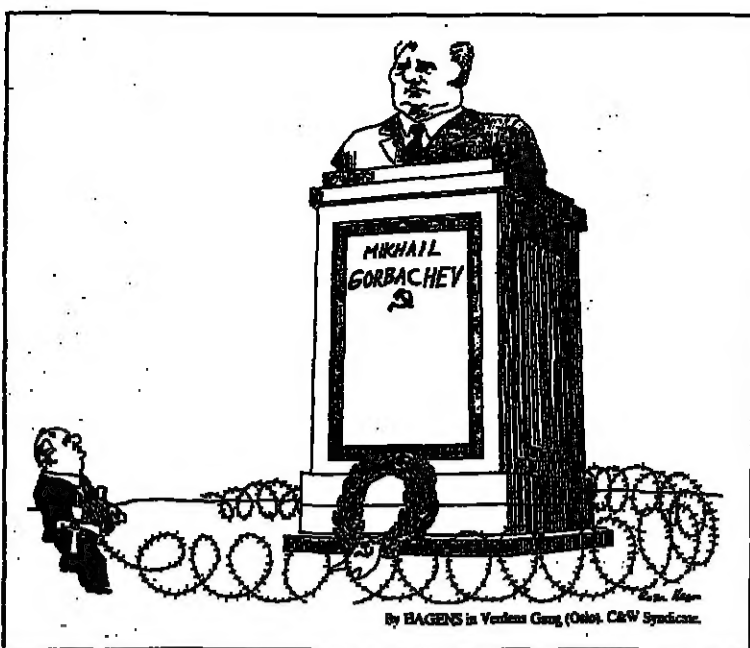
ministrations of the 1960s, featured a menu of graduated options, conventional up to nuclear, each scaled to the degree of provocation.

This is the doctrine that Mr. Bush proposed to modify. He succeeded in having the communiqué issued at the end of the London meeting state that NATO would regard its nuclear weapons as "truly weapons of last resort," although at the instance of Britain, the communiqué also said that "there are no circumstances in which nuclear retaliation in response to military action might be discounted." In a further turning away from the flexible response doctrine, the NATO allies agreed that once negotiations begin on eliminating short-range nuclear arms from Europe, the United States will remove all its nuclear artillery shells if the Soviet Union will do the same.

As all but hermits are aware, it is political change, not technology, that is driving these changes in strategy. The Soviet Union has not disarmed. It remains a formidable array of nuclear weapons and delivery systems. But the Soviet alliance system has collapsed. The Warsaw Pact is disintegrating, and the main theoretical justification for nuclear deterrence—a large-scale attack by ground forces on Western Europe—has become a fantasy.

It is not clear, incidentally, that such an attack has been anything but fantasy for quite a few years. If there is still a little risk for NATO to lower the official nuclear threat a bit, and to remove old weapons that are in fact more frightening to friends than to foes.

I was among those who feared, two



By BAGGINS in Vietnam Gang (Dobson, C&amp;W Syndicate)

years ago, that the INF Treaty was premature and dangerous. I am glad the fears were misplaced, but of course no one foresaw the sweeping changes in the configuration of power in Europe that would render them irrelevant.

The rationale for deterrence at less than intercontinental ranges vanished when the Warsaw Pact fell apart. But when the INF Treaty was negotiated, the Soviet alliance system still looked intact, if shaky.

It is important to be clear on just what happened, and why. It has long been the superstition of the political left that weapons are the great menace to peace, and that peace could therefore be achieved by "arms control." Recent developments prove, again, that it is peace that brings arms control, not vice versa.

## World in a Pocket, Youth in a Pill

By Richard Reeves

WEST CORNWALL, Connecticut — If you walk through the hilly woods here 90 miles north of New York City, you suddenly come upon long stone fences going straight through the tall, old trees. But the fences are even older than the trees, because these rocky hills were cleared for farmland until the middle of the 19th century.

The farms were abandoned because of a revolution, a technological revolution called the railroad. As soon as tracks were laid to the north and west of New York, trains transported more and better vegetables and fruits to the city from flat, rich farmland hundreds and hundreds of miles away.

There was another revolution recently; astonishing events that will change the way every human being on the planet lives and works and dies in the next century — for better or worse. What happened has nothing to do with either the president of the United States or of the Soviet Union or the Pope in Rome. Names like Bush, Gorbachev, John Paul will fade in importance when compared with the works of Durrell Hillis or Daniel Rudman.

Mr. Hillis is the general manager of the Satellite Communications Division of Motorola Inc., which has just announced that it has solved the technical problems of pocket-telephones that will work anywhere on the globe. Using

a network of 77 satellites, a Sherpa with a leg cramp on top of Mount Everest will be able to direct-dial any doctor in the world for advice; or, if he is hungry, order lox from Zabar's in New York or foie gras from Fauchon in Paris.

A rich Sherpa. When pocket phones

## MEANWHILE

come to market they will be terribly expensive at first. They are talking about \$3,500 for a phone. But we will all be richer for it.

And maybe the Sherpa and everyone else will never get old, or at least never look old. That is where Dr. Rudman, of the Medical College of Wisconsin, comes in. He was director of a genetic research study that produced a growth hormone that seemed to be able to reverse the aging processes of 12 volunteer patients in their 60s and 70s. Six months of injections produced results that reversed the visible effects of up to 20 years of aging — muscle mass increased an average of 9 percent while fat tissue decreased 14 percent and skin began to get thicker again, by 7 percent.

Can you imagine what people will be willing to pay for this stuff? Can you imagine the good and evil that universal

communication can facilitate? Can you imagine the social and eventually political tensions that will tear nations apart if only rich people have access to a modern fountain of youth? Like it or not, this is the way the world works. Politics and many other disciplines may be idea-driven, but ideas are often products of the needs of people living in changing environments. And technology changes environments.

A few years ago, Esquire magazine celebrated its 50th anniversary by asking 50 writers to pick "Fifty Americans Who Made a Difference," the 50 years from 1933 to 1983. Politicians were named by a few — Franklin Roosevelt chief among them. The interesting choices, though, were essentially technological choices: Dr. Jonas Salk; Dr. John Rock, developer of the birth control pill; Dr. Oswald Avery, whose DNA discoveries led to the hormone experiments of Dr. Rudman and his associates; J. Robert Oppenheimer and the bomb; William B. Eberly, the key figure in what television became; William Levitt, who figured out how to make cheaper one-family houses.

If Esquire does it again in 50 years, look for Mr. Hillis and Dr. Rudman. I'll be more than 100 years old then, but looking good! — punching up the data on their lives and contributions for this column on my pocket phone.

Universal Press Syndicate.

## Nuts and Bolts Transportation in Hanoi

By Jacques Bekaert

HANOI — For years, journalists visiting Vietnam have been asked to travel in expensive official cars to appointments, even if the meeting was near their hotel. When Bang, my Vietnamese guide and friend, suggested that I buy a bicycle to move around Hanoi, it seemed like a good idea.

First I went to La Samaritaine, a department store built by the French in colonial times. It now houses the largest state shop in Vietnam. A look in the bicycle section revealed something of the country's industrial problems. The bikes, all products of domestic enterprises, appeared as if they would collapse as soon as someone of my bon vivant physique sat on the saddle. The tires bulged with irregularities.

It was clear why some bicycle factories were on the verge of bankruptcy now that the Vietnamese version of perestroika, *doi moi*, has forced most state enterprises to stand on their own, often shaky, feet. A few days before, a government official had told me that hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese-made bikes were rusting in the storage areas of factories because they were unsalable.

Bang assured me that there was another government shop that specialized in bicycles. It was a dark and dusty place, with most products already in a state of advanced decay. None of the salesmen would provide any useful information about the merchandise. Salvation came in the form of a mil-

ing young woman. "Do you want to buy a bicycle?" she asked. "Please follow me." She led us around the corner into one of the tiny, one-room houses in which most Hanoi residents live. While we waited, she introduced us to her sister, who immediately prepared a pot of bitter tea. A few minutes later a couple of young men came in carrying some brand-new bicycles. These salesmen all smiled. This was private enterprise, Vietnam-style.

I settled for a Soviet-made machine called a Tourist. It came complete with pump, a kit of tools and a bell. The price, paid in Vietnamese dong, came to \$40, less than the amount asked in the state shops for their rusty wares. The young woman insisted that I try the machine so that her assistants could adjust the saddle and tighten a few loose screws. Any future problem, she added, would be fixed free of charge.

The bicycle was blue and had a five-speed gear system. It quickly proved to be troublesome. On my way back to the hotel ground one of the lakes in central Hanoi, I tried to increase speed. Each time I did so, the chain disengaged.

A pedicab driver at the hotel considered the problem. "Five speed is too much for a Soviet bicycle," he pronounced. "We must get rid of a few speeds." The necessary surgery was per-

formed on the pavement. I was left with one speed, but at least it worked.

The pedicab driver expressed a strong preference for Chinese or French bicycles. The Russians, he added, "do not make good *velos*." I quickly discovered that he was right. The handlebars never stayed put. The two wheels did not follow precisely behind each other. I began to understand some of the problems faced by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Bang urged me to buy a lock, since an unlocked bicycle is a great temptation for the poor of Hanoi. I bought a cheap Vietnamese lock. "This is a mistake," muttered the pedicab driver, inspecting the item. He was right. Next morning I could not open the lock. "You need a Chinese lock, Shanghai brand," said my pedicab friend, whose pedicab-technical knowledge was proving invaluable.

My Soviet Tourist has survived more than a year of rough treatment. Like most of the more than 1.5 million bicycles in Hanoi, it is now a bit rusty. The pump has been stolen, the tool kit is missing and so are a few nuts and bolts. The bell does not ring anymore. But having a bicycle in Hanoi has given me a new sense of freedom — and a better understanding of Vietnamese society.

Mr. Bekaert covers Indochina for the Bangkok Post and the Far Eastern Service of British Broadcasting Corp. He contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## When Defense Is Nuclear

In response to reports on the revision of NATO's nuclear doctrine:

Whereas the first use of nuclear weapons for aggression is universally recognized as unambiguously illegal, the first use of such weapons for defense is not generally recognized to be unambiguously legal.

The right to self-defense is not unlimited. It is restricted by the dictates of humanity, by the general principles of international law, and by specific international treaty obligations. Whatever the purpose, one cannot justify the use of weapons that would not only indiscriminately destroy enemy forces and population, but could also seriously injure the defended people themselves, as well as neutrals not involved in the conflict.

A declaration of no early first use is not credible without substantial changes in the composition, characteristics and

deployment of nuclear forces, leading in the first place to the elimination of short-range weapons which have war-fighting rather than deterrent functions. The first step is to remove those discrepancies in conventional military strength that have been referred to in justifying the first-use doctrine.

JOSEF GOLDBLAT,  
Geneva.

## The Hubble Whodunit

In a report on the Hubble space telescope's recently discovered defects ("A Sharp Cutback in Hubble Program," July 4), William Fastie, an optical expert and one of the two telescope scientists in the working group that advised NASA on building the telescope, is quoted as saying, "We could not possibly be the watchdogs."

The report is a sorrowful reminder of how easy it is to perpetuate inefficiency, waste, negligence and lack of responsi-

bility by ignoring the cause. To read the report is to read about a mirror system that has managed to put off the goal of the \$2.8 billion project for three years — all by itself. Nowhere is there a reference to a person's inattentiveness, indifference, irresponsibility or reckless discharge of highly paid duties.

The defects didn't happen by themselves; somebody made a mistake. Rather than putting the best face on things and wishing for better luck next time, why not focus on the real culprits: the people who designed, supervised and built the telescope?

LAWRENCE R. GORDON,  
Santa Monica, California.

Testing the Hubble mirrors in combination on the ground, said the deputy project manager, "would have required mounting them on an elaborate structure that would have cost additional hundreds of millions of dollars" ("Mirror Flaws Means Telescope Camera Will Not Be Usable," June 29). This estimate seems

fabulous in more than one sense. But whatever methods of estimating or costing were used, somebody (perhaps the deputy project manager himself) spoiled the ship for a ha'porth of tar.

DAVID DORRANCE,  
Paris.

## On the Carpet, Not Under

My deepest admiration goes to Jim Hoagland for his July 6 opinion column "How Many Times Can America Turn the Other Cheek to Iraq?" It points to the immoral and barbaric actions of Saddam Hussein, the dictator of Iraq. If the Bush administration continues to hide the aggressions and massacres of President Hussein under a carpet of face-saving moderation — all in the pretext of searching for peace — American policy will be engulfed in amorality and the world will end up tainted by the last war in the Middle East.

DANIEL LUBETZKY,  
Tokyo.

## GENERAL NEWS

East German, at NATO,  
Stresses Concern About  
Alliance Military Plans

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRUSSELS — Foreign Minister Markus Meckel of East Germany said Tuesday after visiting NATO that he was still concerned about Western military strategy, despite encouraging signs from the recent London summit meeting.

"The results of the London summit is an important sign of change in NATO," Mr. Meckel said after more than an hour of talks with Secretary-General Manfred Wörner and other senior NATO officials.

The Atlantic alliance decided in London last week to offer a peace declaration to Warsaw Pact members and to adapt its nuclear and conventional arms strategy now that the Cold War is over.

But Mr. Meckel, whose country is soon to be united with West Germany, said he had received no answers at NATO headquarters to precise questions about nuclear weapons and strategy changes.

The East German said he wanted all short-range nuclear forces removed from Europe and was worried about plans to deploy a new U.S. tactical air-to-surface missile in the mid-1990s.

Mr. Wörner restated NATO's willingness to start talks with Moscow on reducing short-range arms as soon as a Vienna treaty on cutting conventional, or nonnuclear, forces in Europe is signed.

But Mr. Wörner did not specifically refer to the new tactical missile, which is an issue that threatens to divide the alliance. Bonn has said it will not take the missiles on its territory. Britain and the United States want them based there.

Talking of conventional forces, Mr. Meckel proposed that a unified Germany retain 300,000 troops, down from a combined total of about 635,000 in East and West Germany today.

"I have the impression this is acceptable to NATO," he said. In London, the NATO leaders said for the first time they would offer the Soviets a commitment to limit the forces of a unified Ger-

ny, but did not suggest a future ceiling.

The West German government has been discussing proposals for combined troop limits of between 320,000 and 380,000. West Germany now has some 465,000 troops, East Germany about 170,000.

The Bonn government is counting on full NATO membership for a united Germany, something Mr. Meckel said caused "a great aversion in East Germany."

Mr. Wörner said he was sure Mr. Meckel could convince the East Germans that NATO was not a threat, but "a factor for stability and security."

Mr. Meckel was the latest foreign minister from a Warsaw Pact country to visit NATO headquarters. Eduard A. Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union was the first, followed by his counterparts from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

In another development Tuesday, East German farmers dumped milk outside a government office in East Berlin and handed out free milk, eggs and vegetables to passers-by to protest what they called the takeover of their domestic market by West Germany.

Since the two Germanys merged their economies on July 1, markets in the East have filled up with West German produce, forcing local food off the shelves and threatening financial ruin for local growers.

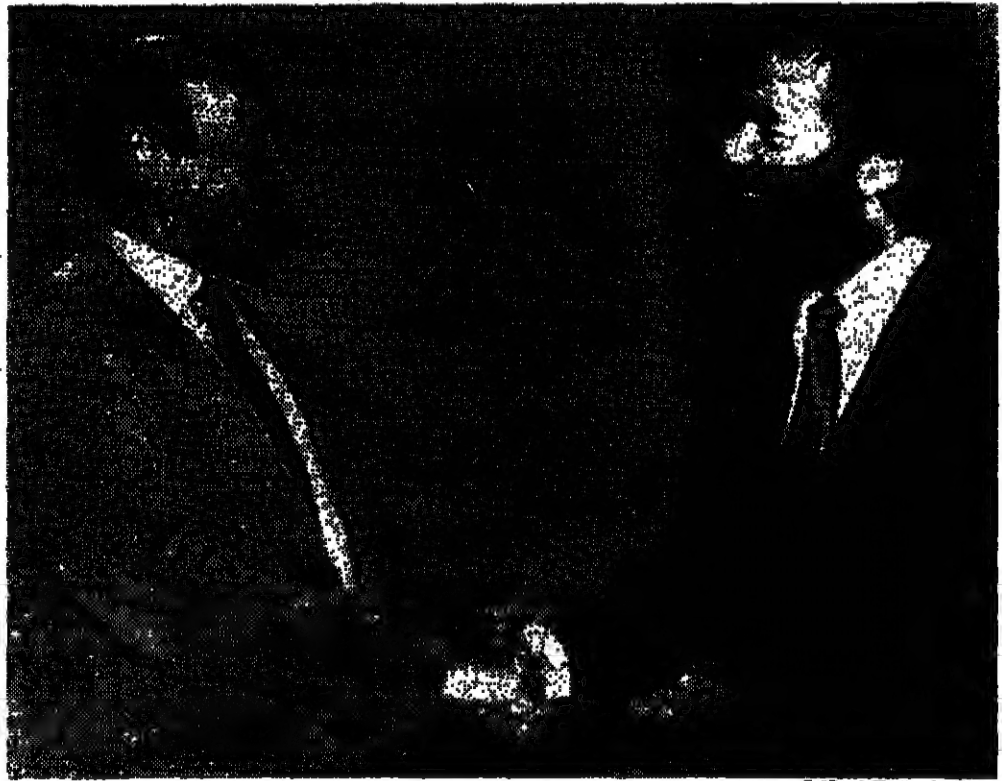
The farmers started to empty a tanker of 10,000 liters (2,600 gallons) of milk in front of a government building in Leipzig but stopped when an official came out to speak with them, the state press agency ADN said. Instead, the farmers handed out free produce to highlight their financial plight, it said.

The farmers, from 10 cooperatives, asked Rudolf Krause, district administrator, to explain why an 11 percent tax on imported produce had been cancelled and when they could expect subsidies to protect them in the new free market.

Labor unrest over the prospect of mass unemployment as East Germany switches from a communist command economy to a free market continued elsewhere as locomotive engineers walked out for an hour to press their demands over work contracts.

Tens of thousands of industrial workers have staged strikes in the last week to demand a two-year job guarantee, large wage increases and co-management rights.

(Reuters, AP)



Manfred Wörner, NATO secretary-general, left, welcoming Markus Meckel, East German foreign minister, to NATO headquarters in Brussels on Tuesday, the fifth visit by a Warsaw Pact minister.

Kuwait and Iran Vow  
To Build Trust in Gulf

Reuters

KUWAIT — In their first high-level meeting since the 1979 Islamic revolution in Tehran, Kuwait and Iran have vowed to build trust and cooperation in the Gulf.

Reflecting eased tensions between Iran and the region's Arab nations, a Kuwaiti official said Tuesday that Foreign Ministers Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran and Sabah Ahmad Jaber of Kuwait had pledged to develop bilateral ties on the basis of mutual respect and good-neighboredness.

"This will create the best conditions to build up trust and cooperation between all countries of the region," the Kuwaiti news agency reported the official as saying.

Mr. Velayati, in the first visit by an Iranian foreign minister to Kuwait since the shah was deposed 11 years ago, arrived Monday for a two-day stay that diplomats saw as another step toward stabilizing the Gulf's political climate.

In Geneva this month, he and his Iraqi counterpart, Tariq Aziz, held their first meeting as part of United Nations efforts toward a peace treaty between the two countries. Mr. Velayati said Iran, emerging from more than a decade of virtual international isolation, attached

great importance to its relations with the six member-nations of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

The economic and political organization comprises Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the United Arab Emirates. Kuwait is a primary financial backer in Iraq's proxy Gulf War. Iraq also received substantial aid from Bahrain, Qatar and the emirates.

After talks Monday with the Kuwaiti foreign minister, Mr. Velayati on Tuesday gave the Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jaber Ahmad Sabah, a message from Iran's president, Hashemi Rafsanjani. Mr. Velayati met the prime minister and crown prince, Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Sabah, earlier in the day.

The news agency did not disclose the contents of the Rafsanjani message or say what the two Kuwaiti officials discussed with Mr. Velayati, whose visit underlined a steady improvement in Kuwait-Iranian relations.

Iran's first ambassador since the war took up his post in Kuwait several months ago. Kuwait, whose population of 1.8 million includes a large number of Iranians, sent aid to victims of the devastating earthquake in Iran last month.

16 Years Later,  
Japan Tries Anew  
With Atomic Ship

TOKYO — Japan's only nuclear-powered ship left port on Tuesday in its first attempt in 16 years to sail under nuclear power.

The experimental ship Mutsu, long plagued by technical problems and anti-nuclear protests, set sail on its first voyage in 1974 but was unsuccessful because of a radiation leak in the protective shield of its nuclear reactor.

On Tuesday, the 8,242-ton ship sailed from the Sekinehama port, 360 miles (560 kilometers) north-east of Tokyo, under conventional power, with plans to switch to nuclear power 110 miles out to sea, according to Yuwao Ikezawa, spokesman of the Atomic Energy Research Institute.

Ocean trials lasting about 20 days will be conducted in an area where they will not interfere with fishing, Ikezawa said. The spokesman said the reactor would be raised to 50 percent capacity in the first week and 70 percent the following week.

Policemen near the port said about two dozen anti-nuclear activists protested the sailing by burning old tires nearby. But no major trouble was reported.

Northern Irish Resentments:  
300 Years and Still on March

By Craig R. Whitney

New York Times Service

BELFAST — This is the "marching season" in Ulster, and the Protestant neighborhoods are bedecked with flags and bannermen and Union Jacks in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, where William III defeated Roman Catholic forces marching under the banner of the deposed Stuart King, James II.

European history is full of such bloody occasions, with alliances and cross-alliances that did not respect national boundaries. In most parts of modern Europe, they are merely memories; here the resentments they caused live on, feeding daily on deep roots.

Nearly 2,800 people, only a third of them in the uniforms of the British Army or the Royal Ulster Constabulary, have died since 1969 in the struggle over the northern Irish counties.

The struggle is a distant legacy of the civil war that followed the Irish independence settlement that left the six counties, with a heavily Protestant population transplanted over the centuries from England and Scotland, under British rule.

"The only conflict in the world which has an integrity of its own is here," said Gerard Adams, president of the Sinn Féin party, the political arm of the outlawed Irish Republican Army.

"The British consider it a civil disturbance," he said. "It isn't."

The British government considers Mr. Adams, a boyish, bearded 41-year-old who grew up in West Belfast, to be the next thing to a terrorist.

The government bans the BBC and other television and radio facilities from broadcasting interviews with him on the ground that depriving an anti-democratic organization of the air of publicity will eventually suffocate the violence.

"People didn't ask to be born into this situation," Mr. Adams said of his constituents in poverty-ridden Catholic neighborhoods where unemployment runs two and a half times as high as in Protestant areas. "The IRA acts by proxy on their behalf and gives them that little bit of political muscle."

"Sinn Féin says that the IRA has the right to use force," he said, "but I don't feel the need to defend every IRA action."

He defended the IRA's bombing in late June of the Carlton Club in London, a Conservative Party bastion to which Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher belongs.

"It's action aimed, as the IRA said, at inflicting casualties on the

enemy," he said. "There is for people here a certain feeling of satisfaction that the IRA is able to carry out such attacks."

But he conceded that when the guerrillas kill by mistake — as they did in the Netherlands in June when they killed two Australian tourists they took to be British Army soldiers — the political effects are "disastrous."

Sinn Féin won only 11.2 percent of the vote in local elections in Northern Ireland in 1989, and in the vote for the European Parliament a year ago it won only 2.4 percent of the ballots cast in Ireland as a whole.

Political support for the part of the republican movement that supports violence is shrinking, and Mr. Adams concedes that part of the reason is the British government's partial ban on Sinn Féin publicity.

"It prevents us from growing," he said. "And when the local Catholic bishop says that if you vote for Sinn Féin you're committing a mortal sin, it stops a real debate."

Mr. Adams dismissed the attempt by the British Northern Ireland secretary, Peter Brooke, to begin talks among Protestant and Catholic politicians in the provinces on restoring local government, which was suspended in the early 1970s after the violence resumed.

Dermot Fimcane, a 29-year-old

Belfast native who escaped to Dublin seven years ago while serving an 18-year sentence for possession of firearms here, said: "All those deaths are avoidable. All those bombings could stop if all those who are saying they are against violence would actually stop it."

Mr. Fimcane was recaptured in Ireland in 1987, but last March an Irish high court justice ruled that under Dublin's 1965 extradition act, possession of firearms in the Northern Irish context was a political act, and Mr. Fimcane went free.

At Sinn Féin offices in Dublin, Mr. Fimcane described himself as "a child of the struggle." When he was 8, he said, his father and mother and seven brothers and sisters had to flee their home, in a Protestant neighborhood in Belfast, when they were told they'd "be getting it" if they didn't leave.

Two brothers, he said, joined "active service units" of the IRA. A third, Patrick, was a well-known lawyer who was assassinated by a Protestant paramilitary squad early last year, after a remark by a British government minister about close links between terrorists and the lawyers who defend them.

"All there was in the area was death and destruction," Mr. Fimcane said. "All there is to protect you is violence."

Haig Warns Against a Lull  
In Vigilance Toward Soviets

Reuters

JAKARTA — A former U.S. secretary of state, Alexander M. Haig Jr., exhorted NATO on Tuesday not to let changes in Eastern Europe obscure what he termed a continuing Soviet threat.

Mr. Haig said at an economic forum in Jakarta that even after Soviet forces pulled back from Eastern Europe, they would remain the largest army on the continent, and their missiles would still be aimed at member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"The alliance will therefore continue to need nuclear forces based in Europe capable of reaching Soviet targets, linked securely in the chain of deterrence to a fully modern American strategic nuclear arsenal," Mr. Haig said.

He added that the United States had stood still while the Soviet Union modernized its strategic ar-

senal; he called for rapid funding and deployment of U.S. strategic missiles.

His remarks contrasted with the tone of a NATO summit meeting in London last week in which participating leaders declared an end to the Cold War. "Old NATO hands like myself recall at the excessively euphoric language of the final communiqué," said Mr. Haig, a former commander of NATO forces in Europe.

He also urged that participants in a summit meeting of industrialized democracies under way in Houston address questions of global trade upon which the growth of Asian countries depended.

"We need less talk of bailing out Gorbachev and more talk about how we navigate the rising tide of protectionism," he told business executives at the Indonesia Forum, referring to the Soviet president, Mikhail S. Gorbachev.



# SUMMIT: Japan's Green Light on China Aid

(Continued from page 1)

long as Soviet occupation of the Kuril Islands continues.

Mr. Baker said the leaders still had to resolve the "scope and degree of aid" to Moscow.

But the main business of the summit meeting probably depends on whether President George Bush and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany tie up a deal to unblock world trade talks. This would come in exchange for America's providing political cover for West German loans to the Soviet Union. If it occurs, the deal will resolve the two most contentious items on the agenda of the economic summit—although not the fundamental political problems they represent.

On Monday, a U.S. public-relations blitz on changing agriculture outwitted and isolated the Brussels Commission, which manages the European Community's farm policies. Mr. Kohl let it be known that he regarded an obscure compromise proposal from the chairman of the GATT negotiating panel on agriculture as a possible basis for discussion.

Mr. Kohl was responding to Mr. Bush's principal summit demand for fresh political guidance for the stalled negotiations in the Uruguay Round. They must reach a conclusion by December on new rules for trade in services, agriculture and the international protection of patents.

West Germany has already given the Soviet Union a five-year credit of \$3 billion and wants its allies to raise the total to at least \$15 billion. In an attempt to lend political legitimacy to additional loans, Mr. Bush proposed multilateral exami-

nation of the Soviet economy by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

President Francois Mitterrand of France said examination should not be restricted to these financial issues but should be conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, the new European Development Bank and the European Community.

An attempt to bridge the U.S. and European positions was made by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain. She submitted a draft to replace a paper drawn up by Art De Zeeuw, the Dutch chairman of GATT's agriculture committee. The De Zeeuw paper favored the U.S. approach of phasing out export subsidies, which are at the heart of the EC's farm subsidy program, and replacing them with other forms of protection.

The Thatcher draft, which was quickly backed Tuesday by the other Europeans, would divide common measures for all subsidies so they could be reduced in a multilateral negotiation through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It would also take the focus off export subsidies, which are the target of U.S. policy. European officials said that the Thatcher proposal was now the only one on the table.

Several hours later, West Germany's economics minister, Helmut Haussmann, said the Group of Seven nations were reaching a compromise on reducing farm subsidies based on Mrs. Thatcher's proposal. Mr. Haussmann told reporters that the compromise included a reduction of farm subsidies involving

all parties in the G-7. There would also be agreement on using a measurement mechanism to gauge the reduction of subsidies, he said.

Asked whether the compromise could fail before the end of the summit meeting on Wednesday, he said "No, that would be a catastrophe." He said no deadline had been set for cutting subsidies.

The problem for the EC is that its efficient farmers are found in France, and they depend on export subsidies. The small, plot, relatively inefficient farms in Germany stay alive through direct supports—and their farmers support Mr. Kohl's Christian Democrats.

Some German officials said the agriculture talks could pose problems for the national election campaign this year in Germany. But others noted that the election date of Dec. 2 comes before the final negotiations later in December. The timing could be convenient if concessions must be made.

## Asteroid, Planet Earth: A Very Close Encounter

PASADENA, California — An asteroid sped past Earth on Tuesday, coming within a comparatively tiny distance of 3 million miles (4.8 million kilometers), scientists at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory here said.

The asteroid, a rocky object estimated at 300 feet to 1,000 feet (90 to 300 meters) in diameter, made one of the closest crossings of Earth orbit observed in 50 years, they said.

# OZONE: U.S. Criticized

(Continued from page 1)

stabilize greenhouse gas emissions, at least by early in the next century.

Even Britain and Japan, which formerly sided with Washington in insisting that more scientific and economic information was needed, are developing plans to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. West Germany has taken the lead, with a goal of reducing such emissions by 25 percent in the next 15 years.

What is apparently Mr. Bush's determination to block a global warming initiative at this summit meeting stands in sharp contrast to his embrace of major environmental commitments at the economic summit talks in Paris last year.

In the final communiqué of that meeting, the leaders declared that "decisive action is urgently needed to understand and protect the Earth's ecological balance."

On global warming, the communiqué stated: "We strongly advocate common efforts to limit emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases, which threaten to induce climate change, endangering the environment, and ultimately the economy."

European officials had hoped that the Houston talks would build on the Paris communiqué. But American officials early on raised a series of paralyzing objections.

"We had thought we were making progress," the European official said Monday, "but at last night's meeting it was discouragingly obvious that Summum was back in the ascendancy, and the United States was yielding nothing."

# TRADE: Rising U.S. Fears on Japan Economic Power

(Continued from page 1)

were generally friendly. This was also a slight rise, from 57 percent measured a year ago.

Yet this generally friendly attitude coexists with increasing anxieties in the United States, particularly about economics, and bad feelings in both countries that seem largely cultural.

Sixty-four percent of Americans, up from 45 percent in 1987, now say that investment by the Japanese in the United States poses a threat to American economic independence. Sixty-one percent favor restrictions on foreign investments in American real estate, up from 53 percent in a May 1988 CBS News poll.

This disparity has led some Japanese to perceive racism in America's reaction to Japan's trading success. Seven of ten Japanese in the current survey said they thought Americans looked down on them.

Tetsuya Tanaka, an economist for TBS in Tokyo, said he and his colleagues were struck by the ambivalence in American attitudes. "We are a little bit surprised so many people do not want to have Japanese investment," he said in a telephone interview from Tokyo. "It's much more of a protectionist flavor. At the same time, much more than we expected, Americans have high regard for Japanese ability and Japanese people."

Attitudes among the Japanese were similarly complex, he said, comparing the relationship between the two countries to a marriage. "They cannot divorce because of mutual interest," he said. "The question is what kind of marriage will continue. Which is the husband and which is the wife?"

This, he said, was an analogy that would make more sense to the Japanese, where marriage is not thought of as quite the "equal partnership" many Americans say it is.

The poll in the United States was conducted among 1,084 Americans reached by telephone from June 5 to June 8. In Japan, 1,468 people were interviewed in person from May 31 to June 7.

Many of the same questions were asked in both countries. Asked to identify their own country's strongest competitor, 57 percent of Japanese picked the United States and 58 percent of Americans picked Japan.

Among Americans, the country mentioned second most often was the Soviet Union, cited by 19 percent. A separate question showed that, by 58 to 26 percent, Americans now view the economic power of Japan as a greater threat to American security than the military power of the Soviet Union.

Among the Japanese, West Germany and South Korea were cited most often as Japan's chief competitors, picked by 6 percent each.

American optimism has clearly declined. In a CBS News Poll a year ago, 47 percent of Americans said the United States would be the No. 1 economic power in the next century and 38 percent picked Japan. But in the current survey 50 percent of Americans picked Japan and 32 percent picked the United States.

But this was not matched by a rise in Japanese confidence, according to the Tokyo Broadcasting System. Forty-five percent of the Japanese picked Japan a year ago to be the No. 1 power of the next

century, and that declined to 39 percent in the current survey. Forty-two percent of Japanese said the United States would be the No. 1 power, statistically unchanged from the 40 percent who said that last year.

Protectionist sentiment was clearly evident in the United States. One in four Americans said they thought the United States should restrict Japanese goods "a great deal."

By contrast, only 3 percent of Japanese said the same about American goods.

Indeed, the Japanese attitude toward American trade seemed generally to have softened somewhat. In 1987, a time of intense complaint in the United States about Japanese products, 7 percent of the Japanese said America was blaming Japan for its own economic problems and only 16 percent said Japanese companies were competing unfairly. But in the latest survey, the number of Japanese who said their country was being blamed for America's economic problems declined to 68 percent and the number who agreed that Japanese companies compete unfairly rose to 26 percent.

Paint Hurler at Rome Statue

ROME — An American, Thomas Sienor, 50, was arrested after red paint was splashed onto a 17th-century statue of St. Paul in a church in central Rome on Tuesday, the police said. Witnesses said a bottle filled with red paint at the marble statue near the entrance of the basilica of St. John Lateran.

# STRIKE: Violence Worsens

(Continued from page 1)

nationally broadcast appeal for calm on Monday night. She urged compatriots not to answer "violence with violence, which has already claimed victims."

The Sandinistas, though, renewed their strike calls and warned the government was courting "chaos and a catastrophe."

Sandinista-controlled unions say Mrs. Chamorro is dismissing too many people from government jobs as she tries to reduce the budget deficit. They also object to her plans to sell dozens of state-owned companies and farms that the Sandinistas had expropriated from the wealthy.

The Sandinistas held power for a decade, warring nearly all the while with U.S.-backed rebels, called contras, who sought to topple them. Mrs. Chamorro's 14-party coalition unseated the Sandinistas in elections Feb. 25, and she took office in April. The contras disarmed last month.

Sandinista-controlled unions called a strike on June 26. Walkouts paralyzed government offices and banks and curtailed services, including transportation, telephones, water and power.

Strike leaders claim more than 80,000 public and private sector workers have joined the walkouts. In her speech, Mrs. Chamorro accused the Sandinistas of engineering the strikes and the unrest. Her speech on state radio and television was delayed for four hours when pro-Sandinista students and workers seized a government broadcasting center. Policemen dispersed them peacefully.

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MEDIA MARKETS

Agencies Fight Attempts To Tax or Restrict Ads

By Kim Foltz  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The advertising industry has been waging a fierce battle with legislators who want to tax advertising or restrict ads for cigarettes and alcohol. So far, the intense lobbying by Madison Avenue and its clients have kept tax laws and regulations off the books. But the push for ad taxes and restrictions is growing, so now the industry is rolling out the weapon it knows best — advertising.

The American Association of Advertising Agencies will begin a campaign later this month aimed at business executives and legislators.

Called "The Value of Advertising," the campaign is intended to remind people that advertising plays an important role in the economy, said John O'Toole, president of the A.A.A.

Carl Spivogel, chairman and chief executive of Backer Spivogel Bates Worldwide, which created the print campaign, said, "This is one of the most important things the industry has done. This campaign alone probably won't change the hardheaded attitude about advertising, but it will help."

In addition, the American Advertising Federation plans to begin an extensive ad campaign in the fall aimed at improving the image of advertising among consumers, as well as within the business community.

"It makes sense that we'd use what we know best to counteract the growing misunderstanding about the value of advertising," said David Bell, chairman of the Advertising Federation and president of Bozell. "We haven't been using our craft enough to fight for the industry."

The Advertising Federation's campaign, called "Advertising — it helps make America work," will use scenes from some of the most well-known advertising campaigns.

The print and television ads created by Bozell will tell people that whether they love or hate advertising, the one thing that cannot be denied is that "it helps America work."

ADVERTISING EXECUTIVES contend that taxes would significantly reduce spending on brand advertising. This, in turn, would make American products less competitive because American companies spend more money on brand advertising than do their foreign competitors, advertising executives say.

Agency executives also fear that ad taxes would encourage advertisers to take money that would have been spent on media advertising and spend it on promotional campaigns, like coupons and sweepstakes. Such a move would reduce fees and commissions for agencies.

Advertising has escaped recent attempts to regulate and tax it. Florida, for example, imposed a tax on services, including advertising, three years ago. But that tax was later repealed. Still, executives say they have plenty of reasons to be worried.

Research by the Advertising Federation, for example, found that 37 states are expecting budget deficits this year. In addition, President George Bush's decision to seek increased tax revenues has raised fears among many advertising executives that the federal and state governments will both look at advertising taxes.

At least a dozen states have considered introducing legislation to tax advertising and there are numerous bills working their way through Congress that would either tax or restrict advertising, Mr. Bell of the Advertising Federation said.

Many legislators favor ad taxes, contending that too much money is spent on advertising, diverting money that might be better used for the development of better competitive products. Roy Bostock, chairman and chief executive of D'Arny Masius Benton & Bowles, said legislators may get a surprise if the public realizes how much it depends on advertising. "Everyone thinks they aren't influenced by advertising," he said. "But the truth is it touches everyone's life."

Madison Avenue is rolling out the weapon it knows best — advertising.

Stronger Yen Is Needed, Executives Say

OSAKA, Japan — A stronger yen is essential for narrowing the huge trade imbalance between Japan and the United States, business leaders from the countries said Tuesday.

The 27th annual Japan-U.S. Business Conference closed in Osaka with a joint statement for delivery to the two governments. It also proposed ways to successfully conclude the current round of trade talks by General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the world trade body.

The three-day conference was attended by about 110 Japanese executives and about 80 from the United States.

Separately, the executives at the conference agreed that controls on technology exports to Warsaw Pact nations must be changed immediately in response to the shifting political realities.

A conference report, to be submitted to the Japanese and U.S. governments, called for a comprehensive review of high-technology export controls established in 1949.

The dollar slumped against the Japanese currency, Page 10.

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by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls.

Cocoon comprises the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization plus Japan and Australia. It regulates the export of high-technology and military-related goods to Warsaw Pact nations and China.

The joint statement said that the yen's recent depreciation would worsen the trade imbalance.

A report called on the two countries to take a variety of steps to narrow Tokyo's \$49 billion-a-year trade surplus with Washington.

In a speech closing the conference, the chairman of the Federa-

tion of Economic Organizations of Japan, the country's most powerful commercial organization, said it should more actively take initiatives in solving bilateral or multilateral trade issues.

"We confirmed that industrialists, who actually run the economy, should more actively take initiatives in solving bilateral or multilateral trade issues," said the chairman, Eiichi Satoh.

"We have agreed that a stronger yen is essential for improving the huge trade imbalance," said Toshikuni Yashiro, a senior adviser to the board of Mitsui & Co.

PARIS — Two big French companies, the Dumez construction company and the Lyonnaise des Eaux water utility, said Tuesday that their directors would examine a merger plan Wednesday morning.

A merged concern would have annual sales of about 50 billion francs (\$9.05 billion) and a stock market capitalization of 27 billion francs.

The companies announced that they would consider a merger in a joint statement that did not provide any financial details about what would be one of the largest corporate amalgamations in France.

Spokesmen for the companies refused to comment further.

The Paris Bourse had suspended trading in both companies on Monday. They are to resume on Thursday. Dumez was last quoted at 641 francs and Lyonnaise at 702.

The Market Operations Commission, known by its French acronym COB, said it was looking into a surge in Dumez trading last week.

About 485,000 shares, or 4.4 percent of the construction company's capital, changed hands during the week.

A COB spokesman said, "It is clear that such a large volume traded just before an operation leads one to ask certain questions."

Traders last week were unable to explain the sudden strength of Dumez stock on the Bourse, which has been losing ground after a recent spate of bearish company news.

Last week's average daily volume of about 97,000 Dumez shares traded was far higher than the 17,842 for June and the 25,223 for May.

Lyonnaise des Eaux derived about half of its revenue from water supply and treatment last year. The company is also active in waste management, energy technologies and maritime services.

Lyonnaise des Eaux has been concentrating on foreign expansion in recent months, and it has taken stakes in three of the British water companies that were sold by the government last year as well as buying four private concerns there.

In June, the Lyonnaise chairman, Jacques Monod, said the company would focus on expansion in Britain and Spain.

Overall, about 30 percent of the company's sales and 45 percent of its income are from foreign operations. It earned 725 million francs last year.

Foreign operations include an 80 percent stake in Aqua-Chem Inc., a U.S. water treatment concern and a like holding in General Waterworks Corp., the second-largest American water-supply company.

Lyonnaise des Eaux recently sold 2.36 billion francs of convertible bonds.

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Dumez Ponders Amalgamation With Lyonnaise

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A Debate on Competitiveness of Nations

By John Burgess  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — From books, articles and television talk shows, Americans have come to accept the idea of the "competitive nation," one that excels in most every economic field it enters.

Japan is often depicted as a sumo wrestler, shoving aside all comers from abroad. West Germany is a well-oiled factory-state. The United States, in contrast, appears more often as a flabby Uncle Sam who is falling behind the pack in a global economic sprint.

Now comes a Harvard Business School professor, Michael Porter, to argue that there are no such things as competitive nations.

There are only competitive industries, and they are scattered all over.

Mr. Porter believes that, however tarnished its image as an economic unit, the United States has world-leading industries in simple supply: computers, software, commercial aircraft, credit cards and movies, to name a few. Many Japanese industries, despite their nationality, he says, are second-rate in global terms and likely to remain that way.

Governments can help by chan-

neling funds and energy into such things as education and infrastructure, Mr. Porter says, but they are likely to gum things up if they try to subsidize, organize or otherwise set the long-term direction of their companies. In the end, industrial success comes from myriad factors that merge to create higher produc-

tivity. Top among them: incessant pressure to innovate, best applied by brisk competition in the home market.

These are the core ideas of "The Competitive Advantage of Nations," an 855-page tome that Mr. Porter published this spring after four and a half years of research in the United States and abroad. It has fast become a book that people who care about America's place in the world economic order must read — or pretend they have. Mr. Porter in his opening pages sug-

gests various shortcuts through its dense and often repetitive prose. Many, however, are getting by on a summary the author has considerably supplied: an article in the March-April Harvard Business Review.

In whatever form they are encountered, Mr. Porter's arguments

appear at a time when powerful people in Washington from both political parties, are moving in the opposite direction, becoming enamored with the idea of cooperation among industries and government-industry cooperation in some form. Many Republicans, while praising competition, say there is also room in today's world for joint research and joint production.

Many Democrats want to go a big step further and have government set up national consortiums that would target specific industries,

such as high-definition television, for financial aid and coordination.

People in the Democratic camp are more comfortable with a book that George C. Lodge, a Harvard Business School colleague of Mr. Porter's, published this spring at about the same time as Mr. Porter's book. "Perestroika for America" is its title and it argues for a U.S. version of the Soviet restructuring program of that name. Get government and industry working together on a grand scale, Mr. Lodge says, noting that some of the prime breakthroughs of U.S. technology came through cooperation that already takes place in the defense industry.

Research and development consortiums will allow companies to avoid the duplication of spending, their promoters promise. Joint production will make for greater economies of scale, while government aid will further bolster capabilities in key "strategic industries."

Said Jeff Faux, president of the Economic Policy Institute: "These are the characteristics of the nations that are beating the pants off us in international competition."

However compelling the case for

See COMPETE, Page 11

pinch of a 30 percent slide in the price of oil this year to around \$14 a barrel.

"You have to suppose that the Saudis' patience is wearing pretty thin," said one of the economists.

Iraq, along with Iran, its Gulf war foe and fellow OPEC member, has bitterly attacked Kuwait and the Emirates for production well above OPEC quotas.

In the past month, the Saudi oil minister, Hisham Nazer, has been shuttling throughout the region to try to cool tempers ahead of the scheduled full OPEC meeting July 25 in Geneva.

Saudi spending plans may run into problems if oil prices for Arabian Light do not pull substantially above \$14 a barrel in 1990.

Oil economists said \$14 was a key level because Saudi Arabia had factored a price of \$14 to \$14.50 a barrel into its 1990 budget. That looked conservative at the start of the year, when a barrel of oil sold for around \$21.

Saudi spending, as in all the Gulf Arab states, is central to the economy's health because the private sector is dependent on growth generated by the state.

The 1990 projected budget revenues were 118 billion riyals (\$31.5 billion) against spending of 143 billion riyals, leaving a deficit of 25 billion riyals to be wholly covered by government development bonds.

This represents a small rise of 2 billion riyals each for spending and

revenue over the 1989 budget projections.

Saudi Arabia does not announce estimated oil revenues, but in the past few years this income accounted for around two-thirds of total revenues.

Saudi Arabia is also locked into some major military deals for which it must pay over the next decade, the main one being an Anglo-Saudi project for fighter jets, equipment and bases estimated at well over \$20 billion.

Despite the oil price slide, the U.S. Defense Department announced on Monday that Saudi Arabia signed a \$3.1 billion deal to buy 315 M-1A tanks and support equipment from General Dynamics Corp.

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# NASDAQ

**Tuesday's Prices**  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE
11 1/2	11 1/4	IBM	3.00	4.5	12	11 1/2	11 1/4	IBM	3.00	4.5	12
11 1/4	11 1/8	Microsoft	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/4	11 1/8	Microsoft	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/8	11 1/16	Oracle	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/8	11 1/16	Oracle	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/16	11 1/32	Intel	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/16	11 1/32	Intel	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/32	11 1/64	Sun	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/32	11 1/64	Sun	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/64	11 1/128	Compaq	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/64	11 1/128	Compaq	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/128	11 1/256	HP	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/128	11 1/256	HP	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/256	11 1/512	Novell	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/256	11 1/512	Novell	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/512	11 1/1024	Lotus	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/512	11 1/1024	Lotus	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/1024	11 1/2048	Parsons	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/1024	11 1/2048	Parsons	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/2048	11 1/4096	Unisys	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/2048	11 1/4096	Unisys	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/4096	11 1/8192	Spacenet	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/4096	11 1/8192	Spacenet	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/8192	11 1/16384	WorldCom	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/8192	11 1/16384	WorldCom	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/16384	11 1/32768	Telecom	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/16384	11 1/32768	Telecom	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/32768	11 1/65536	Verizon	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/32768	11 1/65536	Verizon	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/65536	11 1/131072	Sprint	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/65536	11 1/131072	Sprint	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/131072	11 1/262144	AT&T	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/131072	11 1/262144	AT&T	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/262144	11 1/524288	Qwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/262144	11 1/524288	Qwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/524288	11 1/1048576	Southwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/524288	11 1/1048576	Southwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/1048576	11 1/2097152	Delta	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/1048576	11 1/2097152	Delta	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/2097152	11 1/4194304	United	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/2097152	11 1/4194304	United	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/4194304	11 1/8388608	Northwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/4194304	11 1/8388608	Northwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/8388608	11 1/16777216	Alaska	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/8388608	11 1/16777216	Alaska	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/16777216	11 1/33554432	Allegiant	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/16777216	11 1/33554432	Allegiant	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/33554432	11 1/67108864	JetBlue	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/33554432	11 1/67108864	JetBlue	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/67108864	11 1/134217728	Southwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/67108864	11 1/134217728	Southwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/134217728	11 1/268435456	Delta	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/134217728	11 1/268435456	Delta	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/268435456	11 1/536870912	United	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/268435456	11 1/536870912	United	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/536870912	11 1/1073741824	Northwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/536870912	11 1/1073741824	Northwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/1073741824	11 1/2147483648	Alaska	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/1073741824	11 1/2147483648	Alaska	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/2147483648	11 1/4294967296	Allegiant	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/2147483648	11 1/4294967296	Allegiant	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/4294967296	11 1/8589934592	JetBlue	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/4294967296	11 1/8589934592	JetBlue	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/8589934592	11 1/17179869184	Southwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/8589934592	11 1/17179869184	Southwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/17179869184	11 1/34359738368	Delta	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/17179869184	11 1/34359738368	Delta	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/34359738368	11 1/68719476736	United	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/34359738368	11 1/68719476736	United	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/68719476736	11 1/137438953472	Northwest	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/68719476736	11 1/137438953472	Northwest	0.00	0.0	0
11 1/137438953472	11 1/274877906944	Alaska	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/137438953472	11 1/274877906944	Alaska	0.00	0.0	0
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11 1/562949953421312	11 1/1125899906842624	United	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/562949953421312	11 1/1125899906842624	United	0.00	0.0	0
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11 1/36028797018963968	11 1/72057594037927936	Delta	0.00	0.0	0	11 1/36028797018963968	11 1/72057594037927936	Delta	0.00	0.0	0
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## SPORTS

## UEFA Lifts Ban on English Soccer Teams

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

GENEVA — The Union of European Football Associations, UEFA, said Tuesday it had immediately and unconditionally lifted the ban on English soccer clubs competing in Europe.

"We have decided after extensive discussions to bring back Aston Villa and Manchester United," UEFA's president, Lennart Johansson, said after a meeting of the UEFA executive committee.

"They will be in the competition as of now... the only restrictions are those we place on any club, there is nothing specific to say."

He said England's league champion, Liverpool, remained banned for another three years.

English clubs have been barred from Europe since 1985, when a riot involving Liverpool supporters at the Champions' Cup final at Heysel stadium in Brussels left 39 persons dead, most of them fans of the Italian club Juventus of Turin.

One source at the meeting said there was "quite a bit of debate" about imposing a one-year trial period on English clubs, but that the suggestion was eventually rejected.

The ruling allows England to increase its number of UEFA Cup berths in future seasons, Johansson said.

Associations can send up to four teams to the UEFA Cup, which involves championship runners-up, based on the overall performance of that association's clubs in European competition. England has been reduced to one berth by its long absence.

The ruling came after the British government dropped its opposition to the clubs' re-entry based on English fan

behavior at the World Cup finals in Italy. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher threw her weight behind the application.

The English Football Association chairman, Bert Millichip, formally applied to have the ban lifted and presented a report prepared by the British sports minister, Colin Moynihan.

"It is exactly what I had hoped for," Millichip said of Moynihan's report. He said he had presented the committee with a three-page letter from Moynihan accompanied by 15 pages of supplementary information.

"I'm certain the English clubs will be welcome," Millichip said. "I cannot be so certain as to how the spectators should behave. A lot of hard work will continue to have to be done by all the security personnel."

"The decision is that they have been fully readmitted. But of course it's a play on words. If they [fans] misbehave, they'll be out again."

Moynihan said in London that he would still like English fans to be banned from traveling to what he called sensitive matches and called for tough policing to prevent hooliganism.

"We have encouraged both Aston Villa and Manchester United to do everything they can to deter their supporters from traveling to the away fixtures," Moynihan said. "But it's impossible to impose a blanket ban on away supporters, because obviously individuals can try and get around that ban."

Liverpool's extra three-year ban was imposed in 1985 and was intended then to begin when other English clubs were allowed back into Europe. Millichip said the association had not yet asked UEFA to reduce or lift that ban.

Manchester United, the English Cup winner, will be included in Wednesday's draw for the European Cup Winners' Cup, while Aston Villa, runner-up to Liverpool in the English league, will take part in the UEFA Cup.

United was the first English team to play in a European competition, reaching the semifinals of the Champions' Cup in 1957 before winning the title in 1968.

Aston Villa won the Champions' Cup in 1982, while Liverpool has won the title four times.

Johansson said he was delighted to have the English clubs back next season, adding that "I think isolation is not a good thing either for English football or for European football. English fans are no worse than others, it's just we have focused on them."

Asked repeatedly if conditions had been imposed on the English clubs, he said that any measures deemed necessary would be taken by the English association.

Millichip, asked if this could involve a ban on the sale of away tickets, said: "Nothing is ruled out."

He said that the issue of Liverpool had not been discussed by the executive committee but that if the English return proved successful, the FA would seek to have the three-year ban reduced at the end of next season.

A Juventus spokesman, Piero Bianco, said in Turin that "we've always been in favor of the English teams playing in Europe. We'd hoped Liverpool would start playing soon, but the World Cup showed that the English team behaved very well."

In West Germany, Jörg Berger, manager of UEFA Cup entrant Eintracht Frankfurt, said: "They should give the English fans a chance at rehabilitation. As far as sport is

concerned, the decision is right, especially when you consider how well England did in the World Cup."

The president of the Royal Belgian Soccer Federation, Michael Dhooche, said: "On the sports side of it, I am very pleased that Manchester United and Aston Villa can play again in the European cups. But in order to prevent them from again becoming the victim of hooliganism here on the Continent, I strongly urge a long, hard look at precautionary security measures."

Hans Hultman, spokesman for the Swedish Football Federation, said: "Swedes will welcome the prospect of seeing Manchester United and Aston Villa play here in UEFA competitions."

But Swedish police are now demanding the legal right to make mass preventive arrests in advance of the European championships in Sweden in 1992.

Among the arguments in England's favor, Millichip cited the World Cup experience and the increasingly tough match security English authorities have mounted since Heysel.

"In Italy, with all the cooperation between the police authorities, misconduct was kept to an absolute minimum," he said. "We're never going to eradicate it completely. It exists throughout the whole of Europe."

Of the thousands of English fans, 66 were arrested and 250 deported during the monthlong world championship, Marseille, the Champions' Cup semifinalist last year, will be top seeded under the new point system when the 1990-91 first round draw is made Wednesday, UEFA said.

The current champion, AC Milan, winner the last two years, is seeded fourth behind Bayern Munich and Real Madrid but will have a bye to the second round.

Italy's Sampdoria will head the Cup Winners' Cup seeds, and Mechelen of Belgium the UEFA Cup seeds. (Reuters, AP, UPI)

## SIDELINES

## USOC Lobbying to Ward Off College Practice Restrictions

MINNEAPOLIS (WP) — The U.S. Olympic Committee is lobbying National Collegiate Athletic Association officials in an attempt to discourage colleges from enacting a President's Commission recommendation to cut practice time for athletes to 20 hours a week.

"People say, 'Will it affect our Olympic performances?'" Harvey Schiller, executive director of the USOC, said Tuesday. "I think the long-term effect will be decreasing opportunities for athletes."

The USOC is concerned that some of the college programs that serve as feeder systems for the Olympic team — swimming, wrestling, volleyball and gymnastics, among others — will be adversely affected by restrictions on practice time.

## King, on Tape, Claims TKO by Tyson

## 'Obliterates' the Knockout by Douglas

NEW YORK (AP) — Don King, in an audio tape played during the promoter's broadcast of a contract suit against James (Buster) Douglas, has been heard by the court to say, "There's a grave injustice here. It's an injustice if it holds that Mike Tyson was knocked out."

At another point Monday on the tape, made following the Douglas-Tyson heavyweight title fight in Tokyo, King said, "If the rules are kept, the best knockout automatically obliterates the second knockout. There never would have been a second knockout."

King later said, "Here's the facts: Mike Tyson knocked out James (Buster) Douglas."

## Pistons Confident Coach Will Return

## To Seek 3d NBA Title Despite TV Offer

AUBURN HILLS, Michigan (AP) — The Detroit Pistons' coach, Chuck Daly, likely will remain with the team and lead it in the quest for a third straight National Basketball Association title, the Pistons' general manager, Jack McCloskey, said.

Daly has been offered a job as an NBC Sports color commentator, but McCloskey said Monday, "I think he will definitely be back with us. I'd say we will probably have all that worked out very soon."

## Former Heavyweight Champion Tate

## Arrested in Tennessee Drug Roundup

KNOXVILLE, Tennessee (AP) — John Tate, a former heavyweight boxing champion, was among 123 people arrested or being sought in a roundup of Knox County suspects on charges involving drugs or stolen property.

The federal, state and local law enforcement operation called "Drug Free Knoxville-Knox County" began the roundup Monday and it was to continue Tuesday.

Tate was arrested Monday at his Knoxville apartment and charged with the sale and delivery of cocaine after allegedly selling drugs to an undercover officer. He was released Monday on \$5,000 bond.

Tate, 34, briefly held the World Boxing Association heavyweight title left vacant by the retirement of Muhammad Ali in 1979.

## For the Record

Mario Lemieux of the Pittsburgh Penguins will undergo surgery Wednesday to remove part of a herniated disk but probably will be ready to play when the NHL season starts, the team's doctor said. (AP)

## France's Pensec Takes Tour Lead

By Sam Abt

International Herald Tribune

GRENOBLE — Ronan Pensec celebrated his 27th birthday Tuesday with as pretty a present as the Tour de France can offer: the Frenchman received the yellow jersey of the overall leader.

"It's a nice gift, for sure," said Pensec after he slipped into his new shirt.

He looked dapper for someone who usually dresses in the rocker mode, verging on punk, and is so cool that he wore his sunglasses atop his head during the stage ride in strong sun and blustery winds.

Climbing strongly as the race began two days in the Alps, Pensec easily replaced Steve Bauer of Canada at the top of the list. Bauer had held the jersey since July 1.

But he is not the climber Pensec is and was widely expected to yield the leadership Tuesday. Pensec, with his victory, and his 10-minute lead over most of the favorites, established himself as a serious contender for the final victory when the race reaches Paris on July 22.

During the 118.2-kilometer (73.5-mile) stage from Geneva to St. Gervais-Mont Blanc, Pensec, who rides for the Z team, had a little help from his friends on the way to his birthday party.

The Z riders, with defending champion Greg LeMond notably doing much of the heavy work on the climbs, kept the pace high up to the final eight-kilometer ascent.

At that point, Bauer, who rides for the 7-Eleven team, had managed to stay with Pensec in a big group of riders. But with 30 kilometers left, the Z riders sped off in an attack and Bauer was left behind.

Pensec's lead jumped from seven seconds to 28 seconds in two kilometers and to 45 seconds in another kilometer. Bauer gallantly led the chasing group, but it was unable to keep from losing ground.

At the finish line, Pensec had far overcame his 17-second deficit at the start of the stage. He finished more than a minute and a half ahead of Bauer, who fell to third place overall, 1 minute, 21 seconds behind Pensec.

Second, 50 seconds behind Pensec, was Claudio Chiappucci, an Italian with the Carrera team.

They were three of the four riders who broke away on July 1 and opened a lead of more than 10 minutes on the rest of the pack. The other breakaway, Frans Maassen of the Netherlands and the Buckler team, finished far back Tuesday.

Although Pensec was the big winner, the first man across the line was Thierry

Claveyrolat, a Frenchman who rides for the RMO team.

He stole away early and finished 1:53 ahead of Uwe Ampler, an East German with PDM, and Charly Mottet, another Frenchman with RMO. Claveyrolat and Mottet are both natives of this region in eastern France and know its mountains well.

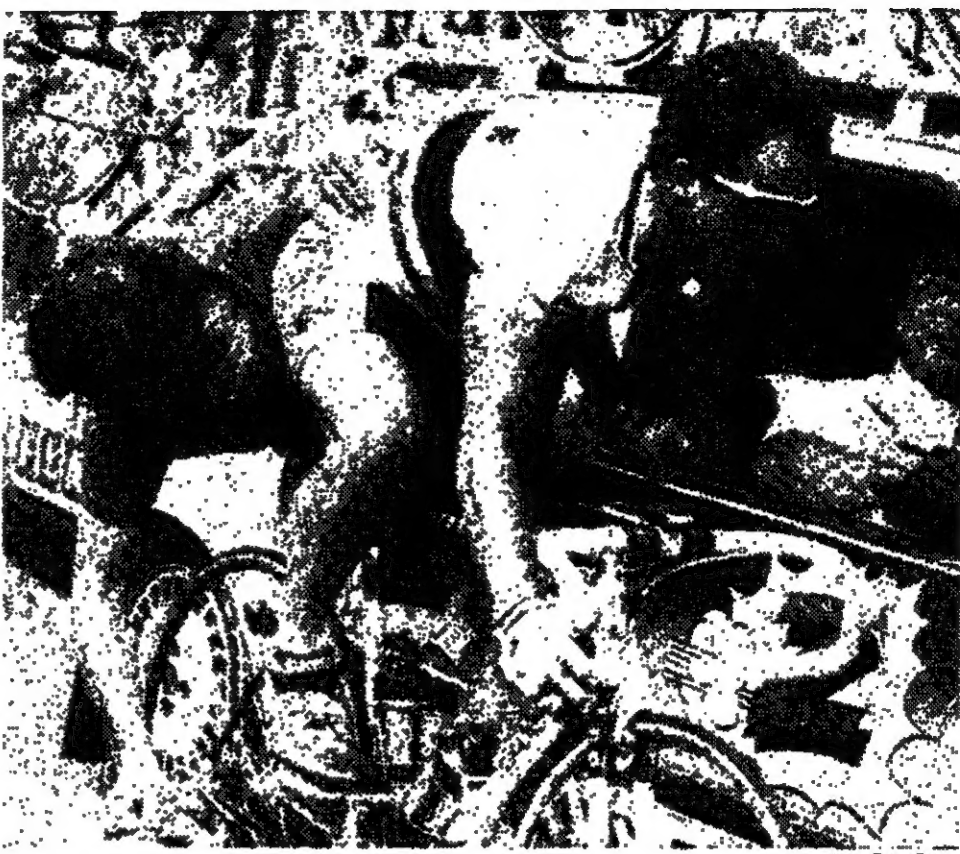
They got another chance on home ground Wednesday when the tour finishes its Alpine climbs, going over three huge peaks up to the fearsome Alpe d'Huez.

Tuesday's stage was less difficult and nearly 70 kilometers shorter. As LeMond said in the morning: "It's not Alpe d'Huez, but it's on the way there."

LeMond was eighth in the overall standings, 9 minutes, 52 seconds back, after finishing 10th on Tuesday, 2:29 behind Claveyrolat.

He rode strongly but found himself in the unenviable position of having to defend his teammate by riding alongside Pensec and not being allowed, by team etiquette, to ride off on his own behalf.

Although that opportunity may yet present itself if Pensec falters, for one day at least LeMond — the world champion and defending Tour de France champion — was simply No. 2 on the Z team.



LeMond got his back wheel fixed as he kept up the pace for Pensec and the other Z team riders.

## BOOKS

BEYOND THE BARRIER:  
The Story of Byrd's First Expedition to Antarctica

By Eugene Rodgers. 354 pages. \$24.95. Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Md. 21402.

Reviewed by Deborah Shapley

I N the early part of this century, Arctic exploration captured the public imagination as much as the moon program did in the 1960s. Remote and beautiful, Antarctica was also hostile. It could destroy its human visitors, so those who

"conquered" it were believed to embody individual and national virtues.

The most famous Antarctic hero is Captain Robert Falcon Scott. His adventure, as told in a famous diary that ends as he dies with his party on their march back from the pole in 1912, made him into a legendary and inspiring figure.

Scott's closest American counterpart was Richard Evelyn Byrd, Virginia-born, wealthy, photogenic, Byrd was a major public figure from the mid-1920s until he died in 1957. He first won national fame in May 1926, when he announced that he had reached the North Pole by air. In June 1927 he became the third pilot to fly the Atlantic.

Byrd then tackled Antarctica. In October 1928 he mounted the largest expedition yet attempted, 42 men and three airplanes. During that Antarctic summer and the sunless winter that followed, Americans read dispatches and heard broadcasts about the brave commander at the world's bottom. Byrd achieved his goals. For his South Pole flight, his major geographical discoveries and the scientific work, he was rewarded with ticker-tape parades, congressional medals and naval promotions. His success was attributed to good character.

In 1990, we have no heroes. Television and books tell us that Ronald Reagan is made of plastic, that Jack Kennedy was a

womanizer, that Lyndon Johnson was cruel and corrupt. As for those few who risk life in feats of bravery — such as test pilots or platoon leaders — popular culture tends to relegate them to the status of minor sports figures. Our astronauts seem mere cogs in NASA's machine.

So it is no surprise for us to learn that Byrd was as different from his whole-image as celluloid is from flesh, as mirages are from mountains or, more appropriately, as water is from whiskey.

Rodgers is the first to quote extensively from the long-withheld Byrd papers and other unpublished writings. Sticking carefully to sources, Rodgers shows that Byrd was "egocentric and insecure." He drank "when he should not have." He pursued personal goals "relentlessly." He lied and blackmailed. He claimed discoveries made by his men as his own. Above all, he sought to preserve his lucrative, exclusive publishing and film contracts, as well as his arrangement with The New York Times, which backed him.

Byrd's most startling defect, shown relentlessly here, was that "he was not even a good aviator." He was "phobic about flying." He drank before and during major flights. He was a poor navigator who flew on dead reckoning. Never, in these gripping reconstructions of some of the most important flights in aviation

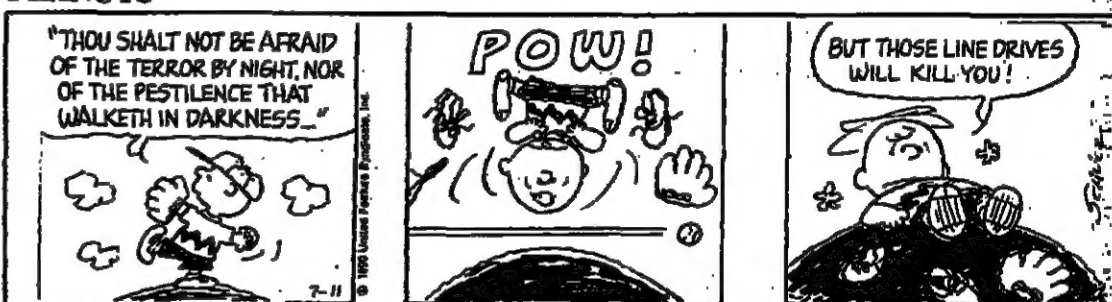
history, does Byrd take the controls or give a serious navigational order himself.

Rodgers does not make the mistake of writing off Byrd's achievements just because he was egomaniacal, dishonest and manipulative. He credits Byrd with organizing his expedition well in human, engineering and financial terms, and thus putting America at the forefront of Antarctic exploration. He judges that Byrd did reach the South Pole within four miles, although he treats "that North Pole thing" as a likely hoax. The discoveries Byrd claimed were indeed made, though sometimes by men under his command. Most important, he cared for the life and health of his men, even while sharing their weakness for the bottle.

Does the unmasking of Byrd matter? When, a few years ago, a British writer thoroughly debunked Scott (the Royal Navy had edited out of his diary references to drink or mismanagement), the outcry was loud in Britain. America's Antarctic tradition is less hallowed, so the revelations will cause less splash than, if, say, U.S. astronauts were shown to be heavy drinkers and poor navigators.

Deborah Shapley, the author of "The Seventh Continent: Antarctica in a Resource Age," wrote this for The Washington Post.

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## SPORTS

## This Game Is a Family Affair



Roberto Alomar, left, of the Padres, his brother, Sandy Jr., of the Indians and their father, Sandy Sr., inset, a coach for the Padres.

CHICAGO — There is always grilling about deserving players who are not selected to play in the All-Star Game. But Tuesday night's 61st renewal at Wrigley Field included the last-minute inclusion of a most-deserving coach: the San Diego Padres' Sandy Alomar Sr.

With two sons already selected to play in the game, Alomar on Friday was added to the National League roster as a batting-practice pitcher. Monday the proud papa was throwing for Roberto, a Padres infielder selected as a National League reserve, and watching Sandy Jr., the Cleveland Indians catcher voted an American League starter.

Alomar Sr. was the first former All-Star (he played second base in 1970 as a member of the California Angels) to have two sons become All-Stars, and this was the first time a father-son combination has participated. The Alomars became the second family to have three All-Stars. The DiMaggios, with brothers Dom, Vince and Joe, were the first.

"I was going to come anyway," Alomar Sr. said. "Fortunately they invited me instead."

He said, "It's not a big thing" to throw batting practice for Roberto since he does that on a regular basis for the Padres. But he did say that since it was for the All-Star Game, and included Sandy, "this is one of the biggest thrills anybody could ask for in life."

## Baseball's All-Star Game Is Not Hamlet, But Has Its Share of Intriguing Subplots

By Steve Berkowitz

Washington Post Service

CHICAGO — Once a year in baseball, the play is the thing. When the game's principal actors move on stage for the All-Star Game, the subplot takes precedence. And the 61st, at Wrigley Field on Tuesday night, would be decided amid the possible resolution of more intriguing conflicts than American League versus National.

Among the delightful possibilities: the Baltimore Orioles' relief pitcher, Gregg Williams Olson, facing the Atlanta Braves' catcher, Greg Williams Olson; the San Diego Padres' second baseman, Roberto Alomar Jr., trying to steal against his brother, the Cleveland Indians' catcher, Sandy Alomar; the Oakland Athletics' outfielder, Jose "Jerk" Canseco being held on base by the San Francisco Giants' first baseman, Will "Three-Toed Sloth" Clark.

"It's a showcase," said Canseco, who claimed he and Clark had resolved their war of words Monday at the pregame workouts. "It's a group of the world's greatest players gathered in one arena. We come to have fun — win or lose, home run or no home run."

But, for the record, Canseco said, "I hope it will be an offensive game. I hate those boring pitchers' duels. I don't think the fans come to watch the pitchers. They come to see 400-foot [120-meter] shots."

The American League had won the last two games, three of the last four and four of the last seven. Prior to that, the National League had won 11 straight and 19 of 20. Asked what the National League had to do in order to keep the American League from its first three-game winning streak since it won four straight from 1946 to '49, the New York Mets' outfielder,

Darryl Strawberry, replied: "We just have to go out and pound 'em." Bob Welch of the A's would be the starting pitcher for the American League. Jack Armstrong of the Cincinnati Reds for the National.

The American League manager, Tony La Russa of Oakland, did not indicate how long Welch would pitch or who would follow him. The National League manager, Roger Craig, of the Giants said Armstrong would go two or three innings, then probably be replaced by the Mets' left-hander, Frank Viola, or the Los Angeles Dodgers' right-hander, Ransom Martinez.

Because the game was being played at a National League park, designated hitters would not be used. Welch, 13-3 this season with a 2.91 earned run average, was making his second all-star appearance. In the first, when playing for the Dodgers, he pitched three innings of relief for the National League in 1980 and allowed two runs on five hits, walking one, striking out four.

Armstrong, 11-3 with a 2.28 ERA, was one of 18 players (12 from the National League) making their all-star debuts. The 25-year-old is in his first full major league season. He showed his youth during a news conference at which Craig made some brief remarks about wanting to win, then formally introduced Armstrong as his starting pitcher.

Said Armstrong: "Like Mr. Craig said, we're not here to enjoy ourselves — although this is kind of intriguing. We're here to win the game."

Armstrong might benefit from a earlier scouting report on the American League's fifth batter, the Seattle Mariners' outfielder, Ken Griffey Jr. Among Armstrong's teammates on the Reds is Ken Griffey Sr.

But before Armstrong would get to the younger Griffey, he would have to get past the Nos. 1 and 2 batters, outfielder Rickey Henderson of the A's and third baseman Wade Boggs of the Boston Red Sox.

In last year's game, Boggs was preceded at the top of the order by outfielder Bo Jackson of the Kansas City Royals. He and Boggs hit homers in the first inning against the Giants' Rick Reuschel.

"They should have let me be in the home run derby," Henderson said after watching Canseco, Mark McGwire, Ken Griffey Jr. and Cecil Fielder lose Monday's inter-league home run-hitting contest to the Nationals, 4-1. "It's a good hitting background. There's a lot of green out there."

Wrigley Field's ivy-covered outfield walls are in full bloom and the place has been spruced up by \$5 million worth of improvements that include new restrooms, a new roof and an enlarged visitors' clubhouse. And, of course, there are the park's relatively new lights. They made it possible for the game — now a prime-time-only affair — to be played here.

Playing here is a factor not lost on outfielder Tony Gwynn of the San Diego Padres, who will be a reserve after starting four times.

"To come to a park like Wrigley," he said, "I mean, all the greats played here."

The park lends itself to some important questions. For example: If an American League player homers into the outfield bleachers, will a fan throw the ball back as the Cubs' fans do to opposing players? "They might," said outfielder Kirby Puckett of the Minnesota Twins, a native of Chicago's South Side. "They've got the mentality."

Will the friendly confines be a hitter's heaven or a pitcher's paradise? "You'll have to check with the weatherman," said the Dodgers' Mike Scioscia, who had replaced the injured Benito Santiago as starting catcher. "If the wind's not blowing in, some of these guys are so strong, a ball that's not well-hit can be a home run here."

As if to give a preview of the fickleness of the elements, Wrigley put a damper on the home-run contest Monday as a wall of wind blowing in halted the likes of Canseco, McGwire, Griffey and Cecil Fielder of the American League as well as Strawberry, Matt Williams, Bobby Bonilla and Ryne Sandberg of the National. The New York Times reported.

The two four-man squads boasted a total of 165 home runs this season, but could muscle out only five on Monday.

McGwire of the A's and Williams of the Giants each hit one. To the delight of the Cubs' fans, the final three were hit by Sandberg. And only Sandberg's left the park, landing on Waveland Avenue behind the left-field bleachers.

Baseball would welcome a hail of home runs. What it would not welcome was any inclement weather. But Wrigley has not treated night-game extravaganzas well. Its first game under the lights, on Aug. 8, 1988, was wiped out by a rainstorm and lightning.

To be prepared for a day for which storms had been forecast, baseball took the unusual step of buying an insurance policy from Lloyd's of London, paying \$280,000 for \$17 million worth of coverage, in case the official family had to be held over in Chicago for one more night.

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